



# ANNUAL REPORT *of activities and developments*

FORWARD  
TO FREEDOM  
IN NAMIBIA  
AND  
SOUTH  
AFRICA!

Oct  
1984  
-  
Sept  
1985

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT



**ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT****Annual Report****October 1984 - September 1985****Hon President**

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# FOREWORD

For the first time, in my long experience of the liberation struggle in South Africa (now well over forty-three years!), the true scent of victory is a present reality. Not only are we winning, but we are known to be winning by our opponents in this country and by our enemies in South Africa.

The evidence for this sea-change is clear and unmistakable. It reaches us every day through the media: in the television newscasts from all over South Africa; in the press reporting of government statements concerning the economy; in the reaction to speeches here, there and everywhere; in the frenzied efforts of president Botha to present a 'reforming' image to the world whilst using massive repression against the African people. Above all this crisis-point in the history of the struggle has been marked during the past year by a massive change in the attitudes and in the actions of the international community.

For the first time the Commonwealth countries are discussing not the evils of 'apartheid' but the positive, practical and immediate measures needed to abolish it. And (although these words will be published *after* the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Nassau) the position of Great Britain will be the unenviable one of having to stand alone against both the old and the young member states. And it will stand alone because of its *refusal to act* against 'apartheid': its obstinate and indefensible rejection of the use of effective sanctions in support of the African people at this crucial moment in their fight against tyranny. Whatever the outcome of the conference, the Anti-Apartheid Movement will have achieved a mighty triumph in bringing the international community to a true understanding of this 'moment of truth'. We have worked hard in the past 12 months to arouse the conscience of our country and of our friends throughout the world. This report tells of the efforts we have made.

I am truly proud to be the president of such a movement and to have been able to represent it in its approach to government; in its great public demonstrations; in its responses to the lies and propaganda of the South African regime; and in the vast expansion of its membership. It has been a great year!

But this is not the moment to relax! We owe it to those who are fighting the battle to give them even more support; to strengthen the ties of solidarity between us; not simply to relish the scent of victory but to achieve it together. And for this we need all the support, financial and personal, that you can give us.

We can - in this extraordinary year - turn the words of president Kruger to our own use, for they too were words minted in a struggle - in his case for survival; in ours for freedom itself. Here they are:

With confidence we expose our cause to the whole world. Whether we triumph or die, freedom will arise in Africa like the sun from the morning clouds.

Amandla!

† Trevor Huddleston CR  
President

October 1985

# INTRODUCTION

This introduction, which represents the political report of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was unanimously adopted by the National Committee at its meeting of 7 September 1985

## Apartheid in crisis

The people of South Africa and Namibia, long oppressed by colonialism and apartheid, are in total revolt. Their courage and defiance, in an ongoing and escalating all-embracing struggle, despite violent repression, have shaken the Botha regime and generated an economic, social and political crisis without precedent in South Africa's history. Evidently, a profound, indeed a qualitative, change in the dimension and scale of the people's anti-apartheid struggle has been and is taking place, opening the prospects for a decisive challenge in which the transfer of power to the people is now firmly put on the South African political agenda. Led by the ANC in South Africa and SWAPO in Namibia, the confrontation between the people and the apartheid authorities has inspired worldwide actions of solidarity and the demand for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. The moment of liberation of the South African and Namibian people is appreciably nearer.

In an address to the people of South Africa, marking the seventy-third anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress, President Oliver Tambo declared:

As you will recall, last year we said that we must begin to use our accumulated strength to destroy the organs of government of the apartheid regime. We have now set out upon this path. We have taken impressive strides towards rendering the country ungovernable.

His call has moved the South African people into actions of rebellion, defiance and resistance, bringing into question the stability of the apartheid regime, its economy and political institutions. The charade of the tricameral 'parliament' has been thoroughly exposed; the local authority structures for urban township Africans have collapsed in many parts of the country; and the bantustans, unrecognised as they are, are totally rejected by the people.

The defiance and resistance of communities have made the apartheid regime's forced removals programme inoperative. The schools and universities, subject as they are to an inferior education, have been in continuous revolt and turbulence. To this have been added the many churches and religious organisations in a united front of opposition to apartheid, for the release of all political prisoners and for national liberation. The industrial workers are playing a central role in this front, demonstrated by the stay-aways in the Transvaal in November 1984 and in the Eastern Cape in March 1985. These and similar nationwide actions taken following the death in detention of FOSATU leader Andries Radebe, together with widespread labour strikes and the boycott of white-owned businesses, have produced a significant breakdown in critical sectors of the apartheid economy. This spirit of black labour defiance was reflected in the wide-ranging activities surrounding the thirtieth anniversary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and to mark May Day in 1985.

Central to the organisation of united opposition against apartheid has been the United Democratic Front, founded just two years ago in August 1983. Encompassing over 700 affiliates with regional executive committees throughout the country, the UDF has been at the centre of legal opposition and hence a principal target of the Botha regime's repression and violence. Its leaders are being tried for treason. Under the state of emergency, a large number of its leaders and activists have been imprisoned and tortured. Others have been murdered in a systematic campaign to destroy the leadership of the UDF. In the Transkei bantustan the UDF has been banned and its offices and personnel throughout South Africa have been subjected to police searches and arson attacks. Despite this

repression, the UDF has proved itself to be resilient and still able to sustain its leadership and activities.

The revolt of the people has been met with sustained savagery by the military and police forces of the regime, leading to well over 700 killings in the African townships. This brutality was underlined by the massacre at Langa on 21 March 1985 — the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre — when the police opened fire on a funeral procession. The systematic deployment of troops in the townships, which became a daily occurrence in all major regions of South Africa, has led to even more indiscriminate violence against the people. In a bid to crush their resistance and restore some semblance of stability, state president P W Botha announced on 20 July a state of emergency. In a massive nationwide crackdown, at least 3,000 people were detained, over 1,200 having been detained in the months preceding the state of emergency.

Under the state of emergency all agents of the state, including the police and military, were given indemnity; further censorship and media control were introduced; and subsequently powers were taken to prevent mass funerals. With the state of emergency in force, torture became the order of the day. But this has in no way weakened the revolt — on the contrary, it has elevated the struggle to a new and unprecedented level, converting the issue of apartheid into a major question of war and peace in the region.

This perspective had been underlined by the African National Congress at its national consultative conference in June 1985 in Zambia. The conference communique declared: 'The possibility of victory was greater now than at any other time in our history. This requires that we should step up our all-round political and military offensive sharply and without delay.' Contrary to the widespread speculation at the time of its signing that the Nkomati accord between Mozambique and South Africa would weaken the ANC's armed actions, there has in fact been a marked increase in its armed resistance. Moreover, the influence of the ANC is being expressed in every area of struggle. It was highlighted by the tumultuous reception of Nelson Mandela's statement rejecting Botha's offer of conditional release, read by Zinzi Mandela, his daughter, to a mass rally in Soweto in February 1985, and by the repeated appearance of flags of the ANC defiantly displayed at political funerals and other events. The prestige and leadership of the ANC is clearly at its highest level ever amongst the people.

Given these developments, the ANC President, Oliver Tambo, stated in August last that the 'masses of our people against whom the Botha-Malan regime has declared an all-out war must and will escalate the popular offensive to destroy the apartheid organs of government, to make the criminal racist system unworkable and to make South Africa ungovernable'.

## Namibia: independence now!

In Namibia, a state of emergency has been in force throughout much of the country since 1977. In early 1985 this was extended with the imposition of a permit system effectively used to ban journalists and other independent observers from visiting the north of the country. This area is now nothing less than a war zone. Namibia, too, is being rendered ungovernable.

With the escalation of the armed struggle by the PLAN, the military and police forces of the occupying regime have been forced onto the defensive. SWAPO forces have successfully conducted an entire series of military operations in large areas of the country. At the same time SWAPO has been able to sustain its popular mobilisation which was reflected in the celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the formation of SWAPO and Namibia Day with mass demonstrations and

rallies. Here again, the apartheid regime is confronted by a deep crisis which it is attempting to resolve in two ways:

- firstly, further repression of the SWAPO-led resistance, through police attacks on meetings and gatherings; the harassment, arrest and detention of activists; beatings, torture and intimidation; the extension of activities by Koevoet and other mercenary and covert units. An added dimension to the crisis is the regime's attempt to 'Namibianise' the conflict by the forced conscription of Namibians.
- secondly, through the creation of a so-called 'transitional government' — a 'Turnhalle Mark II' attempt to isolate SWAPO and avoid implementing the UN plan for Namibia as agreed by all parties in 1978.

The 'transitional' government emerged out of a so-called Multi-Party Conference (MPC) put together by the apartheid regime, following the collapse of the Turnhalle Alliance. It represented an even narrower and more unrepresentative section of the Namibian people than did the DTA; a number of ethnic organisations, previously in the DTA, deserted its ranks and several established links with SWAPO. Moreover, the 'transitional government' is subject to severe contradictions and internal conflicts; it could not even agree which party would provide a 'prime minister', with that position now to be rotated every three months.

SWAPO, in this situation, is increasingly confident. President Sam Nujoma, addressing the Non-Aligned Movement meeting in New Delhi in April 1985, recognised that South Africa:

is dead set against SWAPO coming to power in Namibia, yet it knows that SWAPO is the concentrated expression of the wishes and aspirations of the Namibian people. It is in the face of this dilemma that South Africa is still trying to create and impose a puppet leadership on the Namibian people. But we are certain that the current enemy attempt will fail, as did all of its previous sinister schemes.

After many years of bitter struggle against colonialism, the Namibian people are politically conscious. They can distinguish between those who are there to serve the interests of the enemies of the Namibian nation. They will not be deceived by the current South African manoeuvres to stage a puppet show in Namibia.

On its part, SWAPO remains committed to continue with the political and armed struggle in order to frustrate Pretoria's colonial schemes. We shall most certainly intensify the armed liberation struggle, in order to hike the price of occupation for South Africa beyond the benefits of colonialism, which that regime seeks to gain in Namibia.

We are confident that the broad masses of the Namibian people will persevere in the struggle and will continue to rally behind SWAPO to ensure that Namibia achieves genuine independence.

## Africa under attack

Another and important expression of the crisis of the apartheid regime is the rapid deterioration of its relations with the rest of the countries of Southern Africa. The strategy set by the Nkomati accord has proved to be a dismal failure since the threat to the regime's hegemony is now visibly and dramatically coming from within South Africa and Namibia.

A year ago, P W Botha threatened that 'those states who still refuse to normalise their relations with South Africa... have chosen an impossible path' and 'their peoples are the ones who stand to suffer most in the end'.

Today, this threat has become even more ominous as the internal crisis escalates. The armed attack on innocent people in Gaborone on 14 June 1985, and the increased resort to sponsoring bandit groups in Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho and more recently in Zimbabwe, reflect Pretoria's growing desperation in dealing with the comprehensive crisis of power it faces inside the country and in the region.

Angola remains a principal target of South Africa's aggressive attacks on the front line states. This was portrayed vividly by the abortive commando raid on a US-owned oil installation in the Cabinda enclave. The South African officer captured in this attack confirmed what had been widely recognised previously, that many terrorist operations purportedly carried out

by Unita were in fact organised and executed by the armed forces of the Pretoria regime. Of special significance was the fact that this commando raid took place within a few days of South Africa's publicly-heralded withdrawal of its troops from southern Angola. These troops were not completely withdrawn and remain in Angolan territory. Moreover, following the abortive Cabinda raid, the Pretoria regime acknowledged that its armed units were operating throughout Angola. The situation therefore remains extremely tense with a continuing build-up of South African armed forces on the border between Namibia and Angola.

The overall effect of South Africa's policies of aggression and destabilisation has been to strengthen the unity of the front line states and to give new impetus to the work of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference. Both groupings have concentrated their activities on practical measures to enable the independent African states in the region more effectively to counter the actions of the SADF and South African-sponsored groupings such as Unita, MNR and LLA, as well as seeking to reduce their dependency on South Africa.

## White power in crisis

The dramatic events of the past year and, above all, the defiant challenge of the people of South Africa and Namibia, have exploded a number of myths about the strength and stability of the apartheid system which has been carefully and deceitfully cultivated by the major western powers and the apartheid regime itself. The myth of the permanence of white power — its invincibility, its economic invulnerability, and its ability to withstand the forces of liberation — is now exposed. The revolt of the people; the growing divisions within the white population; the alarm expressed by important sections of capital and of business at the policies of the regime; the outflow of capital; the collapse of the currency; and the acknowledgment that South Africa remains heavily dependent on trade, investment and borrowings from abroad have all contributed to the exposure of these myths. The much vaunted 'laager' has proved to be no more than a mirage. South Africa today is deeply in crisis with the maturing of many of its inherent contradictions, and among these the most potent is the fact that the costs of maintaining the institutions of apartheid through the power of the gun now outweigh the surpluses generated by the exploitation and poverty of the black majority and by holding the Namibian people in bondage.

Time has run out for apartheid. With over 40 per cent of the country's budget devoted to funding the army and police and the overall enforcement of apartheid, with over one half of the white adult working population operating the institutions of apartheid and the one billion dollar annual burden of maintaining South Africa's occupation of Namibia, the apartheid economy can in these circumstances only sustain the high-wage privilege of the white minority and the high rate of profit on invested capital through increasing inflows of foreign capital and borrowings. The South African strategy hitherto, in order to meet the costs of maintaining apartheid, especially since the Soweto uprisings in 1976, has been to attract capital imports and engage in substantial overseas borrowing. This now amounts to \$22 billion, of which \$14 billion is on short-term. But, since 1982, the gold price has fallen sharply — and with gold contributing over 40 per cent of foreign exchange earnings, this source of support for apartheid has proved to be a waning asset. This, in turn, has simply led to higher borrowings from abroad. However, the political crisis and, above all, the militancy of the black workers have now brought this economic stabilising strategy to an abrupt end.

In the six months since March 1985 some \$100 million a month flowed out of the country. The major banks, especially of the US, largely under pressure from public opinion, have been refusing further loans and furthermore refusing to roll over existing maturing loans. The campaign for disinvestment has led to a drop from \$2.8 billion to \$1.6 billion in America's direct capital stake in the apartheid economy. Several British companies and banks have been selling or reducing their interests in South Africa. Governments — in Sweden, France, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Brazil and others — have imposed selective sanctions, especially against investments

in and sponsored trade with South Africa. This groundswell in favour of sanctions and isolation has produced a palpable breakdown of business confidence within South Africa and, for the first time, calls from businessmen for the resignation of P W Botha. Significant elements of white business and industry are calling for far-reaching reforms and, in pursuit of a negotiated resolution of the crisis, have opened up a dialogue with the ANC, despite expressions of disapproval from P W Botha.

The political spearhead of the reform lobby is the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), now poised to take advantage of the repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act to depict itself as representing both sides of a divided society. With influential backing from foreign financial circles, the PFP purports to chart a middle way between the repression of the regime and the radicalness of the liberation struggle. While calling for a national convention, it undermines all international efforts aimed at isolating South Africa, and defends the existing order whenever it is threatened with breakdown.

The PFP allies itself with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and his paramilitary tribal organisation Inkatha, which wreaks violence on opponents of the regime whilst preaching non-violence as the only way of opposing apartheid. Together, these two forces collaborate to pursue their common ambition of holding the ring, and interposing themselves between the people and the regime, to become the arbiters of a reformed apartheid system — once more an attractive haven for foreign investment.

The reality upon which this reform project founders is the fact that, for the black people of South Africa and the liberation movement, apartheid cannot be 'reformed' — for, as they correctly ask, how can an evil like apartheid be reformed? For them the crisis can only be resolved by the immediate release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and other people's organisations, and the eradication of the system of apartheid, thus opening the way for the creation of a non-racial and democratic South Africa based on the Freedom Charter. In a word — the solution to the crisis in Southern Africa requires nothing less than genuine independence for Namibia and the transfer of political power to all the people of South Africa as envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

The state of war which now rules both in South Africa and Namibia produces an entirely new and unprecedented challenge for the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

**The international dimension: sanctions now!**

This state of war, the developing economic crisis, and the widespread demonstrations of international solidarity and of condemnation of the Botha regime have, for once, concentrated the minds of those western governments which had hitherto sought to protect the apartheid system through expanded levels of trade and investment, through policies of 'constructive engagement' and continuing political and strategic links. While they generally remain opposed to the imposition of sanctions against apartheid, they have been forced into accepting a change in the terms of the debate. Their previous claim that quiet diplomacy could and would produce 'reforms' in South Africa has been transformed into an assertion of their opposition to economic sanctions on the spurious grounds that they will not work or that such sanctions will bring greater suffering to the black population of the country. The ritual criticism of the apartheid system has, of course, become a necessary part of the baggage of this anti-sanctions lobby. The United States, Federal Republic of Germany and British governments, confronted as they are by their own increasing isolation on the issue of sanctions, are now clutching at what straws are left in a desperate effort to prevent what now seems inevitable: the enforced isolation of apartheid through mandatory international sanctions. In this context, limited as they are, the French sanctions measures represent the first and most significant break in the hitherto solid anti-sanctions front of the major western powers.

Complementing international action for sanctions have been the pressures exerted by the political crisis which have led banks and investors to reduce their South African stake, to stop lending to South African entities, and to sell their portfolio investments in view of the rising risks of a total collapse of the apartheid economy. These market-based pressures do not necessarily arise from any moral rectitude on the part of

investors; they come from a sober assessment of the balance between risk and profit, and, for once, the risk heavily outweighs the rewards from investing in apartheid. The one-week closure of the stock and foreign exchange markets in South Africa in August 1985 was a sure sign of the gravity of the impact of these pressures. The decision of the Pretoria regime unilaterally to declare a moratorium on its debt repayments and the restoration of the two-tier exchange rate system in which investment funds from abroad can buy the South African currency at a heavily devalued price is an act of desperation which is unlikely to restore long-term international confidence in the economy or in the South African political system.

These developments have been taking place against the background of mounting international pressure to secure the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435, which embodies the UN plan for Namibia. In April 1985, the Non-Aligned Movement convened an extraordinary ministerial meeting to discuss Namibia and amongst the decisions taken was that the UN Security Council should be convened. This took place in June and the resolution adopted renewed the mandate of the UN Secretary General and requested him to report by September 1985. The resolution, No 566, also took a historic decision to urge member states to impose a series of voluntary economic measures against South Africa.

Whilst blocking sanctions, the United States, with the tacit support of Britain, also continues to insist that the independence of Namibia should be 'linked' to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from the People's Republic of Angola. However, in November 1984, the President of Angola, in a letter to the UN Secretary General, set out a programme by which Cuban forces would be withdrawn and redeployed as a positive move towards securing independence for Namibia and peace in the region. This initiative caused a further dilemma for the United States as it was immediately rejected by the apartheid regime. Any further moves were effectively forestalled by the South African regime's unilateral decision to establish a 'transitional government' in Namibia, which was a final confirmation that, for the regime, 'linkage' was just one more excuse to delay and procrastinate.

The United States policy was thrown into further confusion by the Cabinda and Gaborone raids. They destroyed any remaining illusions within Africa and in the international community as a whole that South Africa had abandoned its strategy of seeking domination of the region as a whole. It had a direct impact on US policy for, in apparently contradictory moves, the Reagan administration withdrew its ambassador from South Africa following the Botswana attack on the one hand, but then the US Congress proceeded to lift the Clark amendment which had prohibited US support for Unita. This latter action led the Angolan government to break off all discussion with the US administration over regional issues.

Clearly the key western powers, Britain and the United States foremost among them, now face a fundamental policy dilemma. Their 'constructive engagement' policy had amongst its declared aims the normalising of relations between South Africa and the independent African states of the region. This has palpably failed. Washington and London are unable to put the blame elsewhere than where it clearly rests — Pretoria. The same policy, it was claimed, would secure independence for Namibia. Pretoria, by its defiant unilateral imposition of the 'transitional government', has likewise destroyed any remaining illusions that 'constructive engagement' would result in Namibian independence. The very essence of the 'constructive engagement' policies of Britain and the USA lay in giving maximum support to P W Botha's 'reforms' — the promotion of a measure of change as long as this was carefully controlled so as to sustain the basic political, social and economic status quo in South Africa.

However, this carefully constructed enterprise has now collapsed along with the 'reforms' upon which it was based — shattered by the spreading revolt which makes South Africa un governable except through armed repression and violence. With the complete failure of 'constructive engagement', Britain and the USA are faced with the alternative of pursuing a bankrupt and unpopular policy, or of searching for a new strategy, the essence of which would be to promote a negotiated settlement falling far short of the transfer of power and the

dismantling of the apartheid system. They hope that the process of negotiating such a settlement would defuse the situation, stretch out the process of so-called reforms, divide the black people and isolate the liberation movement by securing the involvement of black 'moderates' who would accept the continuing reality of white power, suitably diluted and disguised, to win international acceptance.

There exist ample grounds for believing that such tricks to defuse the present explosive situation will fail, because the black people are now more united than ever before and will not accept anything less than the transfer of power to the majority on the basis of the Freedom Charter. On the other hand, our Movement should in no way underestimate the ability of Britain and the United States to find the means for protecting South Africa's unique economic and social system, its profitability for western capital and its strategic role in western global policies.

The British government has, of course, emerged as the greatest protector of apartheid in the recent period. A sustained campaign to prevent UN mandatory sanctions has been mounted at the risk of leaving Britain dangerously isolated at the UN and in the Commonwealth. Together with the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain has been the main opponent of moves by other member nations to secure a common EEC position in favour of economic measures against South Africa. Britain also played a critical role in the decision to send the 'troika' to South Africa on conditions laid down by Pretoria. This delegation's visit in August 1985 proved to be a great source of comfort to the apartheid regime.

Britain is among the few western countries which has not withdrawn its ambassador from Pretoria; it has in practice tolerated the operations of Armscor in violating the UN mandatory arms embargo in Britain. It was the only government in the world to discover 'positive elements' in Botha's 'crossing the rubicon' speech. Even on Namibia, although declaring the 'transitional government' to be 'null and void', Britain kept open the option of meeting with the Multi-Party Conference. Sir Geoffrey Howe went further by hinting in the House of Commons on 26 June 1985 that Britain would cooperate with the 'transitional government' in certain circumstances.

The Movement nevertheless believes that its campaigning work over the years has educated the public on the situation in Southern Africa and has won the support of wide-ranging sectors of opinion. In reality, a formidable front against the British government's pro-apartheid policies and in favour of British

economic sanctions against South Africa has been created. There is no doubt that this prevented Britain, at least temporarily, from coming to the financial rescue of the Botha regime in August 1985.

The Movement now has the formidable task of building on this work with even greater effort, determination and urgency. We have forced the British government on to the defensive, and must now step up our campaigns to secure a reversal in British policy. Given the international groundswell in favour of sanctions, such an objective is not beyond our means at this critical time. And the achievement of such an objective will not only transform the international situation surrounding the crisis facing white power in Southern Africa, but provide practical assistance to the people of South Africa and Namibia and their liberation movements in their courageous struggle to win freedom and democracy.

This means that we must transform into effective action the deep revulsion which exists among a very wide cross section of the people of Britain at the brutal realities of apartheid and the anger which is mounting at the connivance of the British government in maintaining white supremacy.

We must continue to concentrate and focus all our efforts on the fight against apartheid; and we must sustain a united stand for a policy of sanctions and support for the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa. Our Movement is therefore now, above all, required to:

1. redouble its campaigning efforts to secure the application of comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa;
2. expose Britain's role in arming apartheid and work to strengthen and ensure the strict application of the mandatory arms embargo, and to secure a total ban on all nuclear collaboration with South Africa;
3. campaign against South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and seek the immediate implementation of the UN Security Council resolution 435;
4. secure even wider support for the liberation struggle led by SWAPO and the ANC and for the campaigns to secure the release of all political prisoners and detainees;
5. seek the total isolation of apartheid South Africa in military, nuclear, economic, strategic, political, diplomatic, cultural, sporting, academic and all other fields.



# SOUTH AFRICA

The unprecedented revolt by the people of South Africa has created a tremendous challenge for the AAM. The Movement has had two distinct tasks: to challenge the policies of the British government and to mobilise solidarity with the freedom struggle in South Africa.

British policy has been an important factor in giving confidence to the apartheid regime in the pursuit of its so-called 'reform' policy. Britain almost alone in the world has refused to condemn the new apartheid constitution. On 3 October 1984, in a letter to the AAM, the prime minister explained this policy: 'We have taken the view that... it would be wrong to condemn these new arrangements at this early stage. Rather they should be given the test of time to see whether they can lead to far-reaching reforms for which we are looking.' This view was reiterated by Lady Young in the House of Lords on 4 June, eight months later, when she said 'the constitution should be given the test of time and may contribute to the process of reform'.

This same approach governed its response to the 'crossing the Rubicon' speech on 15 August when the government insisted on emphasising the 'positive features' of the speech. This positive assessment of the policies of P W Botha has gone hand in glove with the government's stubborn opposition to the application of any form of effective sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

British policy has been tested by a number of developments in South Africa. For the early period covered by this report, the sit-in at the British consulates in Durban dominated British-South African relations. The British government from the beginning refused to intervene with the South African authorities on behalf of the six UDF and National Indian Congress leaders. In mid-October, after three of the six had left the consulate and been immediately detained despite previous categorical assurances to the contrary, the British government imposed a ban on all visits by their lawyers and family to the remaining three. This action was taken on the spurious grounds that the three men were using the consulate to 'indulge in political activity', and was in fact prompted by the release of a statement at the House of Commons by Donald Anderson MP, on their behalf, in which they set down the conditions for leaving the consulate. Donald Anderson had visited the consulate on behalf of Labour leader Neil Kinnock, following a request from the UDF and NIC leaders.

The Movement actively campaigned to stop this ban on visits. In November the lawyer representing the three visited Britain and met foreign office officials, as well as addressing a rally in Conway Hall, with Donald Anderson, at the end of a torchlight procession. There appeared to be some prospect of movement by the government but the South African authorities lifted the detention orders before this could be tested. The three left the consulate in December; two were promptly arrested and joined the three detained earlier on leaving the consulate, plus three others, to face charges of high treason. In February 1985, following dawn house-to-house raids, eight other UDF leaders were similarly charged with high treason.

During the period of the sit-in the British government used this as an excuse to refuse to intervene as more and more UDF leaders were detained, including Murphy Morobe, who had met British government officials in September 1984 in an effort to resolve the consulate crisis.

Also during this period the South African cabinet endorsed a decision taken at the 'highest level' that four Armscor officials should not return to Britain to face trial. The four had been granted special bail conditions to allow them to return to South Africa pending trial on charges of arms smuggling, but they failed to appear in court on 22 October in Coventry. Although the South Africans had broken a solemn undertaking to the British courts, the government took no action except to protest to the South African ambassador.

Throughout this period the AAM was spearheading the

campaign to challenge the government's policies. In addition to the demonstration on 17 November there were numerous letters of protest, demonstrations at the foreign office and South Africa House, and action in parliament.

Early in 1985 the government distanced itself on one important issue: following Nelson Mandela's rejection of terms for his release laid down by P W Botha, Mrs Thatcher wrote, in response to representations by Archbishop Huddleston: 'I recognise Mr Mandela's standing in the black community of South Africa and I share your concern at his continued imprisonment... We... do not think it right to attach conditions to his release.' In fact subsequently the government went further and associated itself fully with a joint appeal by the EEC foreign ministers in July for Mandela's immediate and unconditional release.

Events in South Africa continued to dominate the media in early 1985, in particular following the Langa massacre on the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. At a rally organised that evening to mark the anniversary and to call for the release of Nelson Mandela and the UDF treason trialists, there were speeches from Denis Healey MP and Archbishop Huddleston calling for immediate sanctions against South Africa. The Movement's response, in addition to a series of demonstrations outside South Africa House, was to launch a ten-point programme of action, to mobilise for some 1,000 pickets and demonstrations throughout Britain on 30 April, and to call a national demonstration on 16 June.

The Movement was faced with a similar challenge following the declaration of a state of emergency on 20 July. Again it organised a whole series of protests outside South Africa House and Downing Street. These became a regular feature of AAM activity, with the London Anti-Apartheid Committee taking over responsibility for organising demonstrations every Saturday lunchtime. A whole range of organisations arranged protests on other occasions.

It is impossible to catalogue the entire range of activities during this period. The most important developments relating to the campaign for sanctions are recorded in the *Sanctions Now* section of this report. Protests were held throughout the country in response to the crisis in South Africa, including a weekly picket of the South African consulate in Glasgow, a 24-hour vigil in Bristol, and plans for larger regional demonstrations in Sheffield, Stirling, Edinburgh, Manchester and Birmingham.

During this period regular contact has been maintained with the ANC, and meetings have taken place with ANC leaders passing through London on a number of occasions. In June the ANC held its national consultative conference in Zambia to which messages were sent by the AAM and a number of its member organisations. One assisted with the travel arrangements for members of the ANC delegation from Britain.

The Movement sent a message to Bishop Tutu on his award of the Nobel Peace prize, and leaders of the AAM met him on a number of occasions.

The Movement has also liaised closely with the UDF and arranged briefings for UDF representatives when in London. The AAM sent a message to the UDF national council in April at which it adopted a resolution condemning foreign investment. In the report to this conference the UDF commented: 'Progressives in countries such as the Netherlands, in Great Britain and elsewhere in continental Europe, rose up to the occasion as they pressured their governments to support the anti-apartheid cause. The most dramatic work was that performed by the British AAM and, early this year, the "Free South Africa Movement" who successfully pressured these governments to vote in favour of the call for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the release of UDF leaders who are charged with treason and the condemnation of murder of our people in Crossroads who were resisting forced removals.'

The AAM has stepped up its campaigns against visits to Britain of representatives of the apartheid regime. A major demonstration was organised in Oxford in response to the Oxford Union's decision to invite South African cabinet minister Allan Hendrickse and bantustan leader Gatsha Buthelezi to participation in a debate at the Union on 7 March. Although both these speakers withdrew, a very successful march and rally were held at which the main speaker was UDF patron Fr Smangaliso Mkhathshwa.

The AAM also organised a protest outside the Hilton Hotel

when Business International hosted a conference. A range of speakers from the apartheid regime took part in an event clearly aimed at trying to stave off the growing tide for disinvestment.

The Movement has also cooperated with the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR) to focus attention on the growing campaign against conscription within South Africa. A meeting on the theme 'Resist the Apartheid War' was organised in January 1985, and the Movement has given support to other COSAWR activities.



## NAMIBIA

The work of the AAM on Namibia has again been aimed at increasing the understanding of the public about the issues at stake; challenging the British government's policies over Namibia; exposing Britain's role in sustaining South Africa's illegal occupation; and mobilising solidarity with SWAPO.

During the autumn of 1984 the AAM and the Namibia Support Committee jointly organised the Namibia-Independence Now campaign. A short pamphlet, including a Namibia declaration, was widely distributed, and members and local AA groups were urged to collect endorsements for the declaration. These were delivered to 10 Downing Street on 10 December, Namibia Women's Day, by a delegation led by the Bishop of Stepney. A total of over 400 organisations and 6,000 individuals endorsed the declaration. The government's reply, whilst having 'noted the support it has attracted', reaffirmed its opposition to sanctions and argued that 'we must instead continue on the path of negotiations however slow that may be'.

The Movement was gravely concerned by this response and so decided that its president, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, should seek a meeting with the foreign secretary. This meeting, which took place on 1 May, assumed an even greater significance because of the announcement by P W Botha in April that a 'transitional government' was to be inaugurated in Windhoek based on the Multi-Party Conference. Archbishop Huddleston, Bob Hughes and Mike Terry met the foreign secretary on 1 May and presented a comprehensive memorandum setting out the Movement's views on the situation over Namibia and recommending a series of initiatives the British government should take, including the reconvening of the UN Security Council and the application of sanctions. The government again rejected the application of sanctions under any circumstances and following the meeting Sir Geoffrey Howe sent a four-page reply to the AAM's memorandum, confirming the government's view that any new administration would be 'null and void' but adding 'we shall continue to maintain informal

contacts with members of the MPC', which the Movement believes could open the way to a de facto recognition of the 'transitional government'.

Following the meeting it was decided to convey the Movement's concern to the ambassadors of the 'contact group' and to the permanent members of the UN Security Council. Archbishop Huddleston and Bob Hughes held meetings with the ambassadors of the FRG, France and the USSR. It is intended to follow these up with meetings with the US and Chinese ambassadors.

In an effort to provide an opportunity for SWAPO to present its case to the people of Britain, the AAM invited Hidipo Hamutenya, SWAPO's secretary for information and publicity, to address the AAM's 16 June rally. His visit, on the eve of the inauguration of the 'transitional government', resulted in considerable publicity in the press and radio. The following week SWAPO president Sam Nujoma paid a short visit to Britain on his return from the UN, and AAM chairperson Bob Hughes hosted a press conference for him in the House of Commons.

There has been sustained campaigning and mobilising throughout this period, together with extensive reporting of developments in *Anti-Apartheid News*. There were renewed efforts to focus on the importing of Namibian uranium. Shapur Kaukungua, SWAPO's chief representative in Britain, addressed a major CND rally in Barrow in October, and this was followed up by a period of picketing and protests at nuclear installations using Namibian uranium in early November during the international week of solidarity with the people of Namibia. As well as public meetings and other activities during this week, there was coordinated picketing of Barclays Bank on 23 November to focus on the bank's role in Namibia.

In an effort to focus more attention in parliament on Namibia there was a lobby of parliament on 12 December. Among those addressing it, in addition to Shapur Kaukungua and AAM speakers, were the Labour foreign affairs spokes-

person, Denis Healey, and SDP leader David Owen. The turnout was far from satisfactory, which pointed to the need to undertake more popular educational work on Namibia among AAM supporters.

The AAM and NSC also cooperated with SWAPO in the organisation of activities to mark SWAPO's 25th anniversary. The main event was a rally in London addressed by Shapua Kaukungua, Joan Ruddock of CND and Diane Abbott, and chaired by Joan Lester for the AAM. A range of campaign material was produced to mark the anniversary, and there was a special centre-spread of *AA News*. A number of local AA groups organised activities to mark the anniversary, and several were involved in hosting a speaking tour the previous month by Ellen Muslalela, the finance secretary of SWAPO's Women's Council.

SATIS has continued to campaign in cooperation with the NSC for the release of Namibian political prisoners and detainees. A significant breakthrough in this area of campaigning was the release of the remaining detainees who had been abducted from Angola at the time of the Kassinga massacre in May 1978. However, there have been frequent arrests and detentions of SWAPO activists. In June, police broke up a protest meeting against the inauguration of the 'transitional government' and again in August 52 Namibians were detained during celebrations to mark Namibia Day. In September details were known of at least 60 Namibians being held without trial. With what amounts to almost a complete news blackout from Namibia, it is vital that this aspect of campaigning is intensified.

The focus of campaigning activities on Namibia will increasingly have to be on the need for the implementation of effective measures against South Africa to compel it to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, together with increased solidarity with SWAPO and Angola. This year has seen further imaginative campaigning activities, in particular by the 'Capenhurst Women' to expose Britain's role in importing and processing Namibian uranium. In March 1984 a number of women gained entry to the BNFL plant at Capenhurst; several were charged with criminal damage and ordered to pay compensation to BNFL for having painted slogans on the buildings as well as fines and costs. The women involved decided that the compensation should be paid to SWAPO instead of BNFL because of the latter's illegal activities in receiving stolen Namibian uranium — a move welcomed by SWAPO and the UN Council for Namibia but not by the courts, which jailed the women involved.

In another related development the UN Council for Namibia decided to begin legal proceedings against Urenco, which is jointly operated by Dutch and West German companies as well as BNFL. The proceedings will be initiated in the Netherlands courts; it will be an important test case for international law and, if successful, will add to the pressure on the British government to ban uranium imports from Namibia.

It will also be vital for the AAM to step up the campaign to secure the implementation of the voluntary measures contained in UN Security Council resolution 566 on Namibia, adopted in June. Britain's abstention on this resolution was attacked by the AAM (see *Sanctions Now* section for fuller details).

## FRONT LINE STATES

The Movement has continued to campaign actively in solidarity with the front line states. For much of the period covered by this report, this work has been largely educational in character. The Movement has sought to secure the widest possible distribution of its *Apartheid's war against Africa* exhibition; AAM speakers have addressed a wide range of meetings on the subject.

By early 1985 it was becoming clear that South Africa had no intention of honouring its undertaking to withdraw from Angola, that South African backing for Unjita was being stepped up, and that MNR activities in Mozambique were still being backed by Pretoria. At the same time Pretoria was stepping up its pressure against those states in the region who had not entered into agreements with it, in particular Botswana.

Following crude threats against Botswana, the AAM succeeded in getting the matter raised, and an assurance was given that the British government was in close contact with that of Botswana. It then appeared that South Africa had backed off. However, in the early morning of 14 June South Africa carried out a commando raid against Gaborone, killing 12 South African, Lesotho and Botswana nationals. The Movement condemned the raid and ensured that the 16 June demonstration focused on the massacre. A symbolic wreath was carried at the front of the demonstration and the rally decided to send messages of solidarity to the president of Botswana and to the ANC president. The AAM was also able to circulate detailed information supplied by the Botswana authorities which succeeded in countering South African propaganda alleging that the attack was against ANC 'terrorist' bases.

In a letter to the foreign secretary the day following the raid, Bob Hughes said: 'I am ashamed that Britain has failed once more to take any effective action against South Africa.'

He urged the British ambassador to be recalled, following the example of the US which had announced such action, and that the South African ambassador should be required to leave. In his reply Sir Geoffrey Howe rejected these proposals on the grounds that the government's approach 'is shared by our European partners and other western countries'. *AA News* publicised the raid and a number of ad hoc fund-raising efforts were made for the benefit of the victims of the attack. In September Archbishop Huddleston met the Botswana foreign minister, who expressed her appreciation for the way the AAM had responded to this brutal act of aggression.

South Africa had also stepped up its aggression against Angola. This had been exposed by the prompt action of FAPLA which had captured a South African defence force officer who was part of a commando group planning an attack on a Gulf Oil installation in Cabinda. Again the Movement responded by urging the government to take action but the reply of foreign secretary Geoffrey Howe was that the US-led negotiations remained 'the most realistic way of tackling the complex problems of the region and achieving progress towards a settlement in Namibia'.

Throughout this period the AAM maintained close contact with the missions of the front line states in Britain and met government ministers passing through London and at international meetings. One area in which the Movement needs to pay increased attention is the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), especially since there now exists a real prospect that sanctions will be enforced. South Africa has already threatened to retaliate against neighbouring states and this will mean that effective contingency plans need to be ready to put into operation.

# Sanctions Now

A profound change in the entire campaign for economic sanctions against South Africa has taken place during the period covered by this report. In 1984, against the background of the Nkomati accord and the tour of western Europe by P W Botha, there existed the real prospect that there would be a reversal in the limited measures which had been adopted by the international community to isolate the apartheid regime. Within a year, however, Pretoria stood almost completely isolated and even its closest allies were under immense pressure to support economic sanctions.

This has come about primarily because of the revolt of the people of South Africa and the impact this has had on international public opinion. At the same time, western policy has been in crisis as 'constructive engagement' has been exposed as nothing more than a means of providing protection and support for the apartheid system.

It is worth cataloguing briefly the moves which have been made to impose sanctions and the international developments which have influenced this process.

In December 1984 in the UN General Assembly, African and western states jointly sponsored a resolution which was adopted with only two votes against, Britain and the USA. The significance of this resolution was not only that Britain and the USA were completely isolated from the majority of western countries but that, whilst reiterating the call for UN mandatory sanctions, it also appealed to member states to consider national legislation or other appropriate measures to enforce unilateral action against the apartheid regime, and cited examples such as a cessation of further investments, financial loans and trade promotion. This placed an obligation on the member states supporting the resolution to take action themselves. As the crisis within Southern Africa intensified, many western countries which had so far refused to act decided to impose limited sanctions. This process was accelerated by unprecedented developments within the United States, particularly in Congress where there emerged a majority for limited sanctions.

With the US and Britain still committed to use the veto to block mandatory action by the UN Security Council, anti-apartheid and solidarity movements focused their attention on campaigns to secure the adoption of immediate unilateral measures by their governments. These campaigns gained the backing of the UN Security Council when, first on Namibia and then on South Africa, it called upon member states to adopt such measures. On 19 June the UN Security Council adopted resolution 566 on Namibia, which called on member states to consider taking appropriate voluntary measures including:

- (a) stopping of new investments and applications of disincentives to this end;
- (b) reexamination of maritime and aerial relations with South Africa;
- (c) the prohibition of the sale of Kruggerands and all other coins minted in South Africa;
- (d) restrictions in the field of sports and cultural relations.

The following month, in response to the declaration of the state of emergency in South Africa, the Security Council adopted resolution 569, which included a further list of measures as follows:

- (a) suspension of all new investment in the Republic of South Africa;
- (b) prohibition of the sale of Kruggerands and all other coins minted in South Africa;
- (c) restrictions in the field of sports and cultural relations;
- (d) suspension of guaranteed export loans;
- (e) prohibition of all new contracts in the nuclear field;
- (f) prohibition of all sales of computer equipment that may be used by the South African army and police.

An important contribution to these developments within the international community has been made by the Common-

wealth. In February the Commonwealth secretary-general, Shridath Ramphal, appealed to governments, corporations and individuals to impose 'all the sanctions at their command'. In an exclusive interview with *Anti-Apartheid News* published in the June issue, he repeated this appeal. The Commonwealth Southern Africa Committee formally welcomed the UN Security Council resolution 566 on Namibia at its meeting in July, with Britain alone expressing reservations.

By September the campaign for sanctions had gained such momentum that it appeared to be only a matter of time before the UN Security Council would adopt mandatory measures.

The following is a brief resume of the measures taken:

- 20 February: the Swedish parliament adopted a bill extending legislation prohibiting exports of war material to South Africa.

- 23 May: the Panama foreign ministry terminated consular relations with South Africa.

- 29 May: the Danish parliament enacted the Act of Prohibition against new investments, etc. in South Africa and Namibia.

- 27 June: governments of Denmark, Norway and Sweden announced termination of SAS flights to South Africa.

- 5 July: the Norwegian foreign ministry announced that the import of goods would be subject to automatic licensing; the ministry of justice should consider a statutory prohibition on the sale of Norwegian crude oil to South Africa; the government would consider giving financial aid to help companies which had been traditionally involved in importing raw materials from South Africa in cases where the switch to other suppliers would imply considerable extra costs; a scheme would be set up to ensure that the authorities could record transport of crude oil to South Africa on ships registered in Norway.

- 6 July: the Canadian secretary of state for external affairs announced the enforcement of an embargo on the importation of arms from South Africa; the abrogation of the double taxation agreement with South Africa; the programme for export development (PEMD) would no longer be available for market development in South Africa; and the applicability to South Africa of global insurance policies issued by the Export Development Corporation would be terminated. The government also announced that it was terminating the toll-processing of Namibian uranium and that it would discourage the sale of Kruggerands.

- 24 July: the French government announced a ban on all new investment, the recall of its ambassador, and the tabling of a resolution in the UN Security Council (which led to the adoption of resolution 569).

- 19 August: Australian foreign minister announced support for UN mandatory sanctions; closure of its trade commission in Johannesburg; prohibition of exports to South Africa of petroleum products, computer hardware and any other products known to be of use to the South African security services; prohibition of imports into South Africa of Kruggerands and all other coins minted in South Africa, and all arms, ammunition and military vehicles; all new investment in South Africa by the Australian government and public authorities to be suspended, and all Australian banks and other financial institutions to be asked to suspend making new loans either directly or indirectly to borrowers in South Africa; direct investment in Australia by the South African government or its agencies to be prohibited; as well as measures to deny Australian government contracts to majority-owned South African companies.

- 2 September: the Swedish minister of foreign trade announced a ban on the import of agricultural produce from South Africa; a recommendation to Swedish companies that they seek other markets and suppliers with a view to reducing trade with South Africa; a ban on the importing of Kruggerands from South Africa; a recommendation to Swedish shipping companies to avoid maritime traffic to South Africa; a review by the national board of trade of the use of metals and minerals

from South Africa in Swedish industry, and no exemptions for the year 1985 under the Act banning Swedish investments in South Africa and Namibia. (Sweden had previously banned the importing of coal from South Africa.)

• 9 September: the US president announced a ban on loans to South Africa (with the exception of certain loans which improve economic opportunities, or educational, housing and health facilities which are open to all races); a proposal to halt the importation of Krugerrands; a ban on all computer exports to military, police and security forces and agencies; a prohibition of all exports of nuclear technology except those required to carry out international agreements on the spread of nuclear arms, or those deemed necessary to protect public health and safety; a ban on the importation of any arms or military vehicles produced in South Africa; a ban on US government export assistance to any American firm in South Africa which does not adhere to comprehensive fair employment principles.

• 10 September: the ministers of the EEC, Spain and Portugal meeting in political cooperation in Luxembourg agreed on a further statement of policy towards South Africa including a list of positive and restrictive measures. (The United Kingdom reserved its position on the restrictive measures.) The restrictive measures agreed by the ten were:

- (1) a rigorously controlled embargo on exports of arms and paramilitary equipment to South Africa
- (2) a rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms and paramilitary equipment from South Africa
- (3) refusal to cooperate in the military sphere
- (4) recall of military attaches accredited to South Africa and refusal to grant accreditation to military attaches from South Africa
- (5) discouraging cultural and scientific agreements except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in supporting it; and freezing of official contacts and international agreements in the sporting and security spheres
- (6) cessation of oil exports to South Africa
- (7) cessation of exports of sensitive equipment destined for the police and armed forces of South Africa
- (8) new collaboration in the nuclear sector.

• 13 September: the Canadian secretary of state for external affairs announced further measures including a request to all banks to apply a voluntary ban on loans to the South African government and its agencies; a request that Canadian companies do not enter into any contracts for the sale and export of crude oil and refined products to South Africa; and an embargo on air transport between South Africa and Canada.

This list is not comprehensive and covers primarily western countries, since the great majority of UN member states long ago implemented sanctions against South Africa.

In Britain the first major initiative to promote unilateral action by the government was the launching of a ten-point programme of action by the AAM. This took place at a ceremony in the House of Commons by the Movement's president, Archbishop Huddleston, in the presence of its two vice-presidents, Jack Jones and Joan Lester, as well as AAM chairperson Bob Hughes MP. This ten-point programme was backed immediately by over 100 Labour and Liberal MPs, who signed an early day motion; by the national executive committee of the Labour Party, by Labour leader Neil Kinnock at a personal meeting with Archbishop Huddleston, by several trade unions meeting in conference, as well as by dozens of other organisations. It made the following proposals:

The British government should be seeking the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa by the UN Security Council. Pending this, it should implement the following Ten-Point Programme of Action as a minimal response to the crisis in South Africa.

1. To express its grave concern at developments in South Africa, Britain should immediately downgrade its diplomatic relations with South Africa. The British Ambassador should be withdrawn and the South African Ambassador asked to leave immediately.
2. Exchange controls should be introduced to enable a ban to be imposed on all new investment in South Africa. British companies should be advised by the government not to expand their operations in or trading relations with South Africa.

1. British banks should be advised by the government that they should not participate in loans to South Africa and should cease the promotion and sale of Krugerrands.
4. Government promotion of trade with South Africa should cease. No funds should be provided for trade missions to South Africa; no export credit should be provided for trade with South Africa; and the special status of the United Kingdom-South Africa Trade Association with the British Overseas Trade Board should be ended.
5. Regulations should be introduced to enforce the guidelines covering the export of North Sea oil, making it illegal to deliver oil directly or indirectly from the UK sector of the North Sea to South Africa.
6. The mandatory arms embargo should be strengthened and strictly implemented by the British government. It should withdraw its opposition to the 16 recommendations proposed by the UN Security Council's Embargo Committee, designed to make the embargo more effective, and work for their adoption by the Security Council. In particular, all forms of nuclear collaboration with South Africa should be ended, and the government should support the imposition of a UN mandatory ban on all nuclear collaboration with South Africa.
7. The no-visa agreement with South Africa should be terminated. This will enable the government to halt visits by South African military, intelligence and related personnel, to implement more effectively the Gleneagles Agreement on sporting relations with South Africa, and generally control South African visitors to Britain.
8. The government should ensure that Britain is not dependent on South Africa for energy and other strategic items. There should be an immediate ban on imports of coal and uranium.
9. The government should issue advice to United Kingdom nationals considering emigrating to South Africa that it is a 'high risk' area, and that it will not be able to provide normal protection to new emigrants, as well as setting out the case against such emigration. Controls should be introduced to ensure that military personnel and other signatories to the Official Secrets Act cannot emigrate to South Africa.
10. Government departments should signal their support for action against apartheid by ceasing to buy goods from South Africa.

This Ten-Point Programme represents a framework for immediate action by the British government. All the measures proposed can be implemented speedily without the necessity of lengthy legislative action. Adopted in isolation they alone will not bring about fundamental change in South Africa, but they will serve as a powerful message to Pretoria, and if strictly implemented will represent a very significant advance towards the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

The government responded in the form of a letter to the AAM on 30 April from minister of state Malcolm Rifkind rejecting all the proposals. The Movement, at an emergency meeting of the national committee on 13 April meanwhile, decided to call a national demonstration on Saturday 16 June. This demonstration, which was sponsored by the Labour and Liberal parties, together with a host of other organisations including the National Union of Students and most major trade unions, proved to be a magnificent display of solidarity with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and in support of sanctions. Some 25,000 people joined the demonstration from County Hall to Trafalgar Square, which was headed by six coffins symbolising the victims of massacres of South Africans and Namibians. Flags of the ANC and SWAPO were also to the front. In Trafalgar Square the rally was addressed by Hideo Hamutenya of SWAPO, Denis Goldberg of the ANC, Neil Kinnock MP, Jerry Herman from the US Disinvestment Campaign, and speakers from the Liberal Party, the NUS, the SCPS, the JCWI, the West Indian Standing Conference, as well as Archbishop Huddleston from the AAM. In County Hall the demonstrators were welcomed by GLC leader Ken Livingstone at a short rally addressed by speakers from the Namibia Support Committee and the Communist Party. There was a series of static demonstrations en route from County Hall to Trafalgar Square to focus attention on specific aspects of British collaboration. A Scottish demonstration was held in

Glasgow on the following Saturday.

These demonstrations were followed up in parliament when first readings were given to sanctions bills in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords during July.

The Movement had already succeeded in building up a groundswell of support for sanctions amongst important sections of public opinion prior to the South African state president's announcement of a state of emergency on 20 July. The AAM president responded by calling for the immediate withdrawal of Britain's ambassador from South Africa and for the government to review its policy of opposition to sanctions. A meeting was sought with the government and on 23 July Archbishop Huddleston, Bob Hughes and Mike Terry met minister of state Malcolm Rifkind, who rejected out of hand the proposals put forward by the AAM. This was confirmed a few hours later when the foreign secretary addressed the Royal Commonwealth Society on Britain's policy towards Africa, where he stubbornly reiterated the government's opposition to sanctions.

Much of the Movement's activities since the declaration of the state of emergency have been directed at increasing support for sanctions. Unprecedented opportunities were provided by the media for the AAM to present to the public the case for sanctions. Editorials appeared in major British newspapers backing sanctions for the first time and altogether it was clear that there was a discernible shift in public opinion in favour of the Movement's policies. At the end of July Archbishop Huddleston issued an appeal 'over the heads of the British government': 'All of us in Britain,' he stated, 'whether we are employers or employees, suppliers or consumers, in work or out of work, can and must play our part' in taking action to impose sanctions.

The Movement itself organised a state of emergency briefing meeting attended by some 300 activists on 3 August, at which a programme of campaigning activities was announced, which was followed by a press conference on 8 August where the Movement announced a package of initiatives directed at the government, parliament, the EEC and the Commonwealth,



including the launching of a sanctions petition to parliament. At a further press briefing on 16 August, the day after Botha's 'crossing the Rubicon' speech, the AAM released an open letter from Archbishop Huddleston to Mrs Thatcher making a further call for the government to abandon its opposition to sanctions. During this period the Movement received numerous requests from the media for briefing material on Britain's economic links with South Africa and on sanctions, especially during the economic crisis which followed Botha's 15 August speech.

The impact of these developments was reflected at the Trades Union Congress and the Joint Assembly of the Liberal Party, when unequivocal support was expressed for sanctions against South Africa. The Movement itself, at its national committee on 7 September, agreed on a further series of campaign plans including the organising of a massive march against apartheid in November.





the 16 June demonstration to highlight Britain's role in fuelling apartheid. The AAM has also continued to participate in the oil working group of Christian Concern for Southern Africa.

The Movement's anti-collaboration committee has plans for the publication of an AAM pamphlet on the oil embargo for release during the autumn of 1985.

## Trade

Direct trade between Britain and South Africa, both imports and exports, rose to £1,931 million from £1,876 million in 1983. Britain holds the position of South Africa's third largest trading partner behind the USA and Japan.

The Movement's campaigning focus has been the boycott campaign. This is not only because it is a practical campaigning activity but also because any reduction in South African exports reduces the foreign exchange earned and therefore directly affects South Africa's balance of payments.

In order to follow up the boycott conference, the anti-collaboration committee has been considering new initiatives against South African imports, including the launching of a Kruggerand campaign.

The Movement also needs to focus more attention on campaigns to stop exports to South Africa. The British Board of Trade continues actively to promote trade with South Africa. According to figures published in the House of Commons since 1979 some £500,000 has been spent on sending government-sponsored trade missions to South Africa. Britain, almost alone in the world, continues to provide export credit assurance for trade with South Africa without any restrictions. The priority attached to trade with South Africa was demonstrated by the visit to South Africa in March 1985 of Christopher Roberts, the chief executive of the British Overseas Trade Board. Both UKSATA and its South African equivalent, SABRITA, have been active in promoting trade and countering the sanctions campaign.

Local AA groups have continued to campaign against local trade missions to South Africa. However, even this aspect of work needs greater attention, for the impact of such campaigns is beginning to be felt. In Leeds there was a controversy at the chamber of commerce's AGM, with members and officials criticising the chamber's policy. Other chambers of commerce have had to go to extraordinary lengths to justify such delegations.

There have also been a number of trade missions from South Africa to Britain. In May four activists of the London Anti-Apartheid Committee succeeded in disrupting a meeting being sponsored by the London chamber of commerce for a delegation from Johannesburg. Local AA groups have also been active in distributing AAM campaign material on coal imports from South Africa. There was a marked increase in such imports during the 1984/85 British miners' strike, and it is feared that this pattern will be maintained. The Movement, as part of its ten-point programme of action, called for the banning of all coal imports into Britain. The AAM has continued to liaise closely with the NUM over this campaign.



## Loans and investment

The campaigns for disinvestment and to halt bank loans have assumed unprecedented significance during the period covered by this report and in particular since the declaration of the state of emergency.

The policy of the South African authorities in developing a massive dependency on foreign loans suddenly collapsed when, following the 'crossing of the Rubicon' speech of P W Botha, the international banking community lost confidence in the South African economy. South Africa's total foreign debt had soared from \$6 billion in March 1980 to \$22bn in mid-1985. Faced with some \$12bn worth of loans requiring payment during the last five months of 1985, there was a sudden collapse in the value of the rand and the South African authorities had to intervene by closing the foreign exchange market, as well as the stock exchange. Following a rescue mission headed by Reserve Bank governor de Kock to Britain and the USA, the South Africans unilaterally announced a moratorium until 1 January 1986 on the repayment of loans. At the same time the financial rand, ie a two-tiered exchange rate, was reintroduced in an attempt to discourage disinvestment.

In Britain de Kock met the governor of the Bank of England and prominent British bankers. The prompt intervention of Labour leader Neil Kinnock secured an assurance from prime minister Margaret Thatcher that Britain would not provide direct assistance to South Africa. When de Kock gave an early morning press conference at South Africa House, journalists were greeted by anti-apartheid demonstrators. The previous day there had been protests outside his London hotel.

Despite these emergency measures there have been few indications that South Africa has resolved its economic crisis. It has been estimated that the rate of disinvestment has reached R100m a week and in September the *Economist* magazine published a list of 30 major transnationals which had either completely or partially disinvested. One of these companies was Barclays Bank, which announced in August that it was not taking up a new rights issue which had the effect of reducing Barclays' stake in its South African subsidiary to under 50 per cent. At the same time it was announced that the bank in South Africa would no longer use the name Barclays. This move was widely interpreted as a vote of no confidence in the apartheid economy by South Africa's largest banking institution.

Other British companies which have pulled out or reduced their stake in South Africa are Alfred McAlpine, which sold its coal mining operations; Smith Industries, which sold Metair, its car parts manufacturing plant; and Standard Chartered, which reduced its holding in its South African subsidiary to a minority holding.



Most of the Movement's campaigning work has concentrated on the Boycott Barclays campaign. On 2/3 November 1984 there were coordinated protests outside Barclays branches to highlight the bank's role in maintaining South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. Local AA groups and student groups have regularly picketed branches and massive quantities of publicity material have been distributed. An important breakthrough was the decision of Rochdale council to remove its

account from Barclays, the first council not under Labour control known to have taken such action. The Movement has continued to liaise with End Loans to Southern Africa (ELTSAs) on this area of campaigning. Its annual *Shadow Report* has been a most valuable campaigning tool. ELTSA organised, in cooperation with the GLC, a conference on banking and disinvestment at County Hall, and these issues were highlighted at a workshop at the local authorities' recall conference at Camden in February 1985.

ELTSAs, with the support of the AAM, has also sought to highlight the role of the merchant banks in providing loans to South Africa. A survey published in 1985 gave details of loans provided to South Africa for the period June 1982 to December 1984. This showed that British banks participated in more loans than banks from any other country. It is recognised that even more attention has to be paid to campaigning activities in this area in the future.

An important move in the wider disinvestment campaign was the decision of the GLC to sell its shareholding in RTZ because of that company's operations in Namibia and South Africa.

Figures published by the British government showed that

direct investment continues to be an important element in the growth of British investment in South Africa. In 1979, new direct investment in South Africa was under £50 million, but by 1983 it had risen to £296m, an increase of 300 per cent.

The Movement's efforts have been focused during this period in securing support for a freeze on all new investment in South Africa and Namibia, and a ban on all bank loans. As reported under the *Sanctions Now* section of this report, this was a key demand of the AAM's ten-point programme of action. At the same time the AAM has stepped up its disinvestment campaign with new initiatives being taken by churches, trade unions and local authorities. This area of activity will have to assume an even greater priority in the period ahead because of Britain's role as the major investor in South Africa.

Attention will also have to be paid to efforts by South African capital to penetrate the British economy. The takeover of the British company J Bibby & Sons by the South African conglomerate Barlow Rand, despite opposition from members of the Bibby family, provoked interest in the South African and British media. The Movement has attempted to monitor these developments and to develop strategies to counter the activities of South African companies in Britain.

## Emigration

Emigration from Britain continues to be a major area of collaboration. Both the TUC and the NUS have been active in countering efforts to recruit British trade unionists and students to work in South Africa and Namibia.

Student AA groups organised a range of protests against companies recruiting for South Africa during the 'Milk Run'. The TUC for its part alerted its affiliates to potential areas of recruitment. There was an encouraging response, with, for example, the NUJ alerting its members to a recruitment campaign for sub-editors and the NUM taking up the recruitment of miners, again often with the support of local AA groups.

A controversy also broke out in Scotland, over attempts by the Southern Scottish Electricity Board to arrange for the secondment of maintenance craftsmen to South Africa.

## Military & Nuclear Collaboration

The Movement has succeeded in focusing renewed attention in Britain on the need for the strengthening and strict implementation of the UN mandatory arms embargo. It has used every opportunity to expose all forms of military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

In July 1985 the culmination of two years of research and investigation resulted in the publication of *How Britain Arms Apartheid*. This 58-page report was the first major survey of how in practice Britain fails strictly to enforce the arms embargo. It gave details of case after case in which the letter or the spirit of the embargo had been broken.

The publication of this report came within a few days of the conclusion of the Birmingham arms trial, which saw the conviction of five British arms dealers for conspiring to export military equipment to South Africa. The trial revealed an extensive network of illicit arms dealing. Four of those originally charged were members of Armscor, the South African government arms procurement and production agency. They failed to return from South Africa for committal proceedings at Coventry magistrates' court in October 1984, and the South African embassy was obliged to pay £400,000 in sureties.

This trial attracted considerable publicity, including a two-part investigation into the arms embargo on 'Newsnight'. The *Coventry Evening Telegraph* deserves commendation, since journalists on this newspaper played a crucial role in exposing the entire operation. It was also clear from the case that

## Diplomatic Relations

The Movement has continued to campaign actively for the severance of diplomatic relations between Britain and South Africa, and to expose the role of South Africa House as a nest of spies.

The Movement has made repeated calls for the withdrawal of Britain's ambassador from South Africa and for the expulsion of South Africa's ambassador from Britain.

In December 1984 the House of Commons published its report on 'Abuse of Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges', which reproduced as an annex a five-page memorandum from the AAM on the activities of diplomats at South Africa House. The report itself acknowledged that South Africa House had been engaged in illegal activity. The *New Statesman* published a sympathetic article based on the AAM memorandum. However, the government persists in refusing to implement the measures proposed by the AAM.

Customs officials had carried out a rigorous investigation.

The trial also revealed serious weaknesses in the arms embargo. The prosecution, for example, had to explain to the court that one of the categories of equipment, cryostats, which were being laundered through Britain from the United States for use in heat-seeking missiles, were not subject to export licence control to South Africa.

The Movement was not able to follow up this trial as effectively as it would have wished because, within a few days of the end of the trial, the AAM headquarters was the target of an arson attack.

The Birmingham arms trial was but one of a series of issues undertaken by the AAM. The most publicised was that involving the attempted export of a milling machine to Atlas Aircraft Corporation (the aircraft subsidiary of Armscor) by a company called Berox. As a result of information supplied to the AAM it was possible to track the equipment to Southampton docks, where TGWU members refused to load it onto a South African ship bound for Durban. Customs officials subsequently impounded the container.

The AAM expressed its appreciation to the TGWU and the other unions involved for their prompt and effective action.

Another controversy broke out over plans to export the Optica aircraft to South Africa. This new surveillance aircraft is particularly suitable for police use. Initially it appeared that the intervention of the AAM and publicity surrounding the

case had succeeded in stopping the export of the aircraft, despite the fact that aircraft such as the Optica were not subject to licence control to South Africa. However, there were subsequent reports that a sales representative of the manufacturers of Optica was visiting South Africa and there were strong indications that the deal would go ahead. The government has not even replied to the latest representations from the AAM on the case.

In another case, the AAM disclosed that the British government had been purchasing tellurometers, a device designed for optical measurement and used as a range finder. The tellurometer was developed in South Africa by Plessey and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). The previous year Plessey had been fined in Britain for alleging that tellurometers exported from Britain to third countries were manufactured in Britain when they were in fact manufactured in South Africa. The government maintained that the recent purchases it had made of the equipment were of British manufactured items. It was unclear at the time of writing whether the ministry of defence had been misled or that Plessey had now set up an operation to assemble South African military equipment in Britain.

The campaign against South Africa's membership of the International Police Association (IPA) scored two more important victories. In May 1985 the UN terminated the IPA's consultative status with the Economic and Social Council. Then in July Penzance council overturned a decision of a council sub-committee and refused to allow an IPA conference to take place in Penzance. The Scottish AAM had earlier in the year demonstrated outside a meeting of the British section of the IPA when it met outside Glasgow.

There was an alarming case of police collaboration concerning Marconi and the Essex police force. A Colonel Marryatt visited Marconi's works in Chelmsford to inspect police communications equipment. Marconi wished him to see such equipment in operation and therefore arranged for him to visit Essex police headquarters. The government replied to a protest from the AAM by stating that 'it is the government's policy not to collaborate with the South African police in any way that could be construed as supporting their role in the enforcement of the apartheid system'. However, they did not regard the visit as being in breach of this policy. This case only came to public attention because of the vigilance of a member of the Essex police authority who noticed a photograph of Colonel Marryatt in the force's journal.

The Movement also made representations to the home office over the presence in Britain of a group sponsored by the South African intelligence agencies and calling itself 'Victims against Terrorism'. The group held a demonstration outside the ANC offices, addressed a meeting at the House of Commons and met officials in the Southern Africa department of the foreign office.

The Movement also protested against the reversal of a ten-year-old policy banning imports of uranium from South Africa. Two purchases were made during 1984 — one on the spot market of a quantity of uranium originally sold to a European utility, and the other involving a complex swap arrangement in the USA. As well as protesting about these two purchases, the Movement repeatedly sought assurances that uranium being imported from South Africa and Namibia was not to be used for military purposes. The government refused categorically to

give such assurances.

The AAM also took up again with the government the wider question of South Africa's nuclear weapons capability, following the publication of a report by the Washington Office on Africa which contained new evidence that the South Africans had exploded a nuclear device on 22 September 1979. The government replied that it remained its view 'that there is no conclusive evidence that there was a major nuclear explosion in the South Atlantic on the day in question'.

Representatives of the AAM and CND executives liaised closely over matters of common interest and met formally to draw up plans for joint activities which are now being considered by the respective organisations.

There was one important breakthrough in the area of military collaboration: the adoption by the UN Security Council of a resolution calling on member states to halt imports of arms from South Africa. So far, however, the British government has not introduced any controls to enforce this resolution.

The AAM continues to work very closely with the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, which it initiated in 1979 and whose director, Abdul Minty, is the AAM's honorary secretary. The World Campaign has been active in relation to the UN and other international agencies, as well as at a national level in cooperation with anti-apartheid movements. It has continued to make representations to the International Atomic Energy Agency, in which for many years South Africa enjoyed a privileged status. Preparations were well advanced for the adoption of a strongly-worded resolution at the IAEA's annual conference in September 1985.

The World Campaign has also reported a series of cases to the UN Security Council committee on the arms embargo, which has circulated the details of these cases to its members but otherwise remains relatively inactive.

Following the publication of *How Britain Arms Apartheid*, the World Campaign decided to commission surveys of the legislation of other countries. It also prepared a memorandum and questionnaire for circulation to concerned parliamentarians. Amongst national cases it has taken up was South Africa's purchase of helicopters for its paramilitary police which the World Campaign established, in June 1985, had been supplied by the West German company Messerschmidts. This exposure led to a television programme in West Germany; and at a meeting with the foreign ministry there the World Campaign was able to establish that there were no regulations to control the export of such paramilitary equipment to South Africa. The World Campaign also made representations to the Austrian government seeking the closure of loopholes in its legislation which allowed pistols and other arms to be transhipped through Austria to South Africa.

The World Campaign also liaised closely with the AAM over the Optica and Berox cases, as well as the Birmingham arms trial. In this case it reported details of the breaches of the arms embargo to the UN Security Council committee.

In the nuclear area the World Campaign assisted the Washington Office on Africa in the publication of its report on the 22 September 1979 nuclear explosion mentioned above.

The World Campaign also pressed Commonwealth states to implement fully the decision of the 1983 New Delhi summit to ensure that all loopholes in the arms embargo were closed.

## Sports Boycott

The campaign to isolate South Africa further in the sporting arena secured a major breakthrough with the cancellation of the All Blacks tour of South Africa. HART — the New Zealand anti-apartheid movement — organised a remarkable campaign which should lead to a complete break in New Zealand-South Africa sporting links. This development, however, presents a major challenge for the Anti-Apartheid Movement as it makes Britain even more the major sporting collaborator with apartheid South Africa.

Three main issues have dominated the campaign during the period of this report. Zola Budd, having returned to South

Africa after her fiasco at the Olympic Games, re-entered international athletics, participating both in Britain and abroad. Protests took place on most occasions when she competed in Britain. In response, the AAM executive committee issued a further call for her to be excluded from international competition. SANROC has been active in pursuing this campaign internationally. *Anti-Apartheid News* has reported frequently on the campaign.

In the rugby arena the main campaign was spearheaded by the Wales AAM against the Crawshays' tour of South Africa. Despite much controversy, including the resignation of Sir

William Crawshay, the tour took place. Significantly, Dennis Thatcher, one of the Crawshays vice presidents, did not follow his example, and refused to resign. There was a further setback when the House of Lords supported an appeal by members of Leicester Rugby Club arising from Leicester city council's action in denying the club use of a recreation ground for training and second team matches. This action had been taken initially by Leicester council following the refusal of the club to oppose the RFU tour of South Africa which included three Leicester players. The law lords ruling overturned decisions in the high court and the court of appeal in favour of the city council. Consideration is being given to the wider significance of this ruling by the law lords. The case did produce praise for the AAM from surprising quarters: Lord Roskill described the AAM's memorandum to the RFU as 'a powerfully reasoned and impressive memorandum'.

Much activity on the sports boycott has been at the local level. In January Teesside AA activists braved ice and snow to protest when a South African squash squad, describing themselves as the Knights, competed in Stockton. A junior England international, Yawar Abbas, refused to play against the South African side. Cardiff Rugby Club, who appear on the UN register, had a setback when the Chinese embassy informed the Wales AAM that the club would not be allowed to visit China

following reports in the press that the club was to send a team to Cardiff's twin city, Xiamen. Manchester AA with other organisations protested vigorously against the decision by Wilmslow Rugby Club to tour South Africa in May 1985.

The biggest breakthrough in the campaign in Britain was the decision to ban South Africa from the Stoke Mandeville Games. The victory was the result of a sustained campaign by Disabled People against Apartheid, who again demonstrated outside the Games this year. The decision to ban South Africa followed the withdrawal of teams from the USA, Trinidad & Tobago, and Zimbabwe.

The AAM has continued to work closely with the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) and the UN Centre against Apartheid which publishes its sports register every six months. Hanif Bhamjee represented the AAM at the UN conference against apartheid sports in Paris in May 1985. Work to enforce the sports boycott has been strengthened by the establishment of the Campaign for Fair Play by a number of prominent sports men and women, together with sports journalists and administrators. The major challenge facing the AAM in this area in the immediate future is the proposed tour of South Africa by the British Lions in 1986. The British and Irish AAMs, together with the Scottish Committee and WAAM, are already planning a major campaign against this tour.

## Cultural & Academic Boycott

This year has seen further progress in the campaign to isolate South Africa in the cultural and academic fields. The publication of the UN register of actors, entertainers and others who have performed in South Africa has prompted renewed activities to enforce the cultural boycott. The second edition was published in December 1984 and the AAM assisted in its distribution in Britain. In a relatively new development, an increasing number of local authorities are insisting that municipally-owned properties do not allow performers to appear unless they support the boycott. The GLC's decision to implement such a policy was of special significance since it controls the South Bank complex, including the Royal Festival Hall.

Many local campaigns have focused on individuals appearing on the UN register. Wales AAM organised a concerted campaign to persuade Cardiff-born singer Shirley Bassey to give an undertaking that she would not return to perform in South Africa. Her ambivalent statements led to renewed campaigns against her during a tour of Scandinavia. Norwegian broadcasting unions' action led to the cancellation of television coverage of a concert in which she and Cliff Richard appeared. The latter was also the target of a campaign in Sheffield: a delegation from Sheffield AA group, including its president, the Bishop of Sheffield, failed to convince him to support the boycott. There was a success in Sheffield, however, when David Essex, a former visitor to Sun City, gave a guarantee that he would not return to South Africa. Teesside AA has also figured prominently in the campaign: local rock star Chris Rea, faced with the threat of a 'home town ban' if he toured South Africa, issued an undertaking that he was not intending to tour South Africa. However, two major British acts, Queen and Shakin' Stevens, performed in South Africa despite appeals from the AAM.

A major issue concerning the cultural boycott was the visit to South Africa of Equity president Derek Bond. Protests at the visit from within Equity resulted in a report from Derek Bond in which he admitted to having performed before a whites-only audience for schoolchildren. The report further attacked the whole basis of the cultural boycott and specifically called for a reversal of Equity policy on several points. This fuelled the anger within Equity and in a number of places Derek Bond's performances were met by protesters from local AA groups and Equity members. AAM supporters, including a number of leading Equity members, distributed leaflets at Equity's AGM. Motions calling for Derek Bond's resignation were overwhelmingly carried. However, the Equity council, which is the governing body of the union, failed to support these calls. The matter is still being pursued within Equity, in

particular by the Afro-Asian group. Louis Mahoney, the Afro-Asian councillor for Equity, wrote in *AA News* on the campaign.

In January 1985 the AAM received information that the South African Broadcasting Corporation had embarked on a 'prestige' project for a TV mini-series called 'Shaka-Zulu'. Through a series of complex connections, the series was being represented as a production by an American company called 'Harmony Gold' and the so-called 'Zulu nation'. The AAM wrote to all those British actors known to have been approached to take part in the filming in South Africa. Sir John Mills replied that he did not intend to accept the offer, but most of the others approached, including Edward Fox and Robert Powell, decided to break the boycott. The matter was raised with Equity, and the ACTT advised its members not to work on the production. The AAM produced a background document on the project, described in the South African parliament as designed 'to improve South Africa's image in the outside world', which was distributed by French anti-racist activists at the Monte Carlo TV Festival. As a result, it is believed that only one overseas sale for the series was gained. The briefing document was circulated to overseas anti-apartheid and solidarity groups to alert them to attempts by the SABC to market the series overseas.

At Stratford-upon-Avon, local anti-apartheid supporters organised protests at the presence of the South African flag and South African diplomats at the Shakespeare celebrations. The AAM wrote to diplomatic representatives of a number of other countries present at the celebrations, and in several cases representations have been made to the organisers of the event for the exclusion of South Africa in the future.

News that, as part of the Edinburgh International TV Festival in August, the South African ambassador Dennis Worrall was taking part in a debate on media coverage of terrorism led to protests by ACTT members and a demonstration by Edinburgh AA. The AAM protested to the organisers of the festival. Worrall withdrew from the event.

A number of leading figures in the cultural field gave their support to the boycott. Playwright Alan Ayckbourn refused permission for his works to be performed in South Africa, and conductor Anthony Hopkins turned down lucrative offers to work in South Africa. American star Stevie Wonder drew the wrath of the SABC when he dedicated his Oscar award to Nelson Mandela; as a result the SABC organised its own boycott of Wonder's songs!

A father and son woodwind instruments business also backed the boycott by turning down an order from a potential customer in Natal for a Loree oboe. John and Peter Myatt were reflecting their union's policy: the Musicians' Union continues

to be in the forefront of the cultural boycott campaign.

A controversy arose over the policy of a number of publishing houses to allow their books to be sold in South Africa. Following an approach from a number of publishers, including Gay Men's Press and Zed Press, the AAM undertook to organise informed discussions between concerned publishers and representatives of the liberation movements.

British people had the opportunity to see and hear at first hand both the SWAPO cultural troupe and the ANC's cultural ensemble Amandla. A number of artistes performed at AAM benefits, and South African exile group, The Dynamics, undertook a tour doing benefits for several local AA groups. Jerry Dammers, writer of the 'Free Nelson Mandels' single, collaborated with Robert Wyatt and the SWAPO singers to put out a single to mark Namibia Day, with the assistance of the NSC.

There has also been progress on the academic boycott. In April 1985, the Royal Institute of British Architects voted to withdraw recognition of the Orange Free State university following a campaign initiated by the National Association of Student Architects. A campaign was launched by NASA to extend this

decision to other South African universities. The AAM also protested to the Union Internationale des Architectes concerning South African involvement.

Following the news that the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Societies was to hold the world archaeological congress in Southampton in 1986 and that there were to be South African participants, Southampton AA activists launched a campaign, supported by the local CRC, which led to the announcement in September that the invitations to the South Africans had been withdrawn.

Following the renewed exposure in *AA News* in November 1984 of government funding for visits by British astronomers to the Sunderland Observatory in the Cape, and the continued existence of an agreement between the Scientific and Engineering Council in Britain and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in South Africa to run the observatory jointly, the Association of University Teachers launched a campaign to sever the links. A detailed document was produced and the AUT, along with prominent astronomers, made representations to the SERC that it cut off all relations with South Africa.

## SOUTHERN AFRICA THE IMPRISONED SOCIETY



The past year's mounting expressions of resistance to apartheid within South Africa have been met by increasingly desperate acts of repression, culminating in the declaration on 20 July of a state of emergency with increased police and military powers and more effective press censorship. The year has been characterised by repeated scenes of police brutality, resulting in the deaths of at least 700 people. Other sinister developments — the recent spate of 'disappearances' and the murders of leading activists — have also exposed the inability of the regime to suppress the resistance by its more 'conventional' methods.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) and several of its major affiliates were the central targets for this repression. During the year the leaders of the UDF and other organisations suffered detention, raids on their homes and offices, disruption and harassment of activities, disinformation campaigns and physical attack. In two separate trials 38 leaders now face charges of treason; the great majority of the UDF's officials were in detention by mid-September, and of the remainder several were in hiding. In the course of the year over 200 political trials were started. In addition, thousands of protesters — mainly youths — were dragged through the apartheid courts on charges relating to the unrest.

In Namibia, the brutal activities of the army and police (especially the infamous Koevoet unit) have continued to be directed against the Namibian people. SWAPO supporters face constant harassment, with several SWAPO events being broken up by armed police, and the introduction of further restrictions on the media has made it even more difficult to monitor this repression.

SATIS, its supporting organisations and the AAM have sought to publicise as widely as possible the nature of this repression, and SATIS has initiated campaigns on a number of specific issues.

### The apartheid judicial system

In December 1984, when two of the UDF leaders left the sanctuary of the British consulate in Durban to be charged with 'treason', foreign minister Malcolm Rifkind stated in the House of Commons the government's view that 'the South African courts have a healthy reputation for independence'. This view was reflected uncritically in some sections of the media, and Mr Rifkind found his remarks quoted in letters from the South African ambassador to MPs and others who protested against the charges. The SATIS committee decided to produce a pamphlet to explain the processes and laws which effectively

prevent those accused of political offences from receiving a fair trial and to illustrate the extent to which the courts are an integral part of the repressive machinery.

As reports of repression increased, the pamphlet, *Political Trials in South Africa — judicial instruments of repression*, was launched at a press conference in June, addressed on behalf of the ANC by former political prisoner Denis Goldberg. An ANC pamphlet, *Torture is part of the system*, was also launched, as was a SATIS leaflet, 'No apartheid executions', publicising the cases of Xulu and Payi, and Muloise. These materials were widely circulated to the press and to sympathetic organisations. SATIS sought a meeting with the government to press for a change in British policy on the apartheid judicial system, which was agreed to.

### UDF treason trial campaign

Eight leaders of the UDF were charged with 'high treason' in December 1984 (five of them previously having sought sanctuary in the British consulate in Durban). In February 1985, in countrywide raids, eight further leading figures in the UDF were arrested and similarly charged. The UDF issued a lengthy statement on the arrests and treason charges, and the SATIS committee decided to initiate a 'UDF Treason Trial Campaign Committee'. Geoffrey Bindman, the British lawyer who had acted here on behalf of the Durban Six, agreed to chair the committee. A wide range of organisations agreed to sponsor it and to take up the issues, including national trade unions, local authorities, church and human rights organisations. Amongst individuals sponsoring the campaign were a large number of MPs and MEPs, artists including George Melly, Ravi Shankar and Billy Bragg, several members of the House of Lords and leading lawyers.

On 12 March the UN Security Council passed unanimously a resolution calling on the Pretoria regime to withdraw the charges of 'high treason' instituted against the UDF officials and calling for their immediate and unconditional release. The campaign committee launched a petition supporting these demands.

On 26 March the committee was launched at a press conference in the House of Commons, addressed by Geoffrey Bindman, Lord Ennals, Donald Anderson MP and AAM executive committee member Chr Ben Bousquet, with extensive briefing material prepared for the media. A major article on the trial by Geoffrey Bindman was published in the *Guardian*, and *The Times* published a joint letter from Denis Healey MP, David Steel MP and David Owen MP, calling for the charges to be dropped and the 16 to be released. The committee distributed widely copies of the UDF's own statement on the charges,

and organised a demonstration at South Africa House on 29 March, the date the trial was scheduled to begin, which was supported by several hundred people including 22 MPs. Frank Cook MP attempted to hand into the South African embassy letters from 123 MPs calling for the withdrawal of the charges and the release of the 16. The embassy declined to receive them.

Initiatives in support of the campaign were taken by the TUC, the BCC, the CIHR which issued a detailed pamphlet on the case, and Amnesty. In addition to the UN action, the case has been taken up by international bodies such as the World Council of Churches and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (one of the accused, Archie Gumede, is an honorary vice president of the IADL). SATIS circulated briefing material to overseas anti-apartheid and solidarity movements.

A series of delays in the starting of the trial, since detailed indictments had not been made available to the defence, led to growing protests at the denial of bail to the 16. Widespread representations were made, and bail was eventually allowed in May, although under very strict conditions.

On 11 June a further 22 people, including UDF leaders and activists, trade unionists and black consciousness activists, most of whom had been in detention for some months, were charged with treason. It is planned to campaign on the 'Vaal 22' trial under the aegis of the UDF treason trial campaign committee. Although there had been several court appearances in both trials, neither had actually started by the end of August.

### Other trials

SATIS cooperated with the AAM's trade union committee on the cases of Oscar Mpetha and the trade unionists accused in the 'Transvaal stayaway trial'. Oscar Mpetha's case (see previous annual reports) had been widely taken up within the trade union movement and, although he was found guilty of 'terrorism' and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, he was bailed for a token R1 in May 1983 pending appeal. At 76, a diabetic who after his previous detention had had a leg amputated, it seemed scarcely credible that even the apartheid courts would reject his appeal. However, they did, and immediately protests were made by the general secretaries of British trade unions representing over 4½ million workers. SATIS organised jointly with the AAM TU committee a demonstration at South Africa House on 25 March, the date of the appeal hearing. In August, Oscar Mpetha was committed to prison and it was understood that he was being held in the prison hospital. SATIS requested trade unionists to continue with pressure for his release, and representations were made by many unions at the TUC.

In December 1984 SATIS made representations to the British government in the case of the 'Grahamstown 11', which it was feared could result in death sentences. Although this did not happen, long sentences were imposed.

A longstanding campaign by SATIS and the Namibia Support Committee was wound up when on 18 October the remaining detainees who had been kidnapped from Kassinga in May 1978 were released.

Throughout most of the year the trial of two SWAPO members, Sam Mundjindji and Vaiko Nghtewa, was carried on, with long gaps, in the Windhoek supreme court. The two men were charged with murdering a broadcaster from Radio Ovambo, and evidence was brought by the defence that the two men's long detention had left them disordered. SATIS made representations to the government to intervene in the case and supported protests organised by the Namibia Support Committee. The trial was still in progress at the end of September.

On 27 August, Namibia Day, armed police broke up a celebration meeting, detaining 52 SWAPO supporters including four leading officials and the treasurer of the Namibian Council of Churches. They were bailed but charged and expected to appear in court on 30 September. SATIS jointly organised a protest at the South African embassy on 28 September to draw attention to their case.

SATIS prepared briefing notes on repression in Namibia for the AAM's 'Namibia-Independence Now' lobby on 12 Decem-

ber 1985. Participants in the lobby urged their MPs to take up directly questions of repression in Namibia and also to press the government to intervene with the South African authorities on this issue. Political repression, and especially the activities of Koevoet, were among issues stressed by the AAM delegation to the foreign secretary on 1 May.

SATIS has sought to publicise the increasingly violent forms of repression in South Africa, including the assassination, abduction and 'disappearance' of activists, which escalated over the summer. In July SATIS hosted a press conference where two lawyers for the defence in the UDF treason trial, Zac Yacoub and Yunus Mohammed, released a detailed statement about 'disappearances'. A major protest was held at South Africa House on 3 August following the assassination by a death squad of Victoria Mxenge, who was a member of the UDF treason trial defence team. Yunus Mohammed was one of the thousands detained after the declaration of the state of emergency.

The continued threat of forced removals was also taken up by SATIS with the case of the Mathopetad community. Documents received demonstrated clearly the sham of the 'voluntary' removals policy and these were publicised. Long-standing AAM member Glenys Kinnock raised this case with the prime minister after receiving an appeal from Mathopetad community leaders.

### Death sentences

Two further death sentences were imposed in February. Clarence Xulu and Lucky Payi were found guilty of murder and sentenced to death. SATIS made representations to the British government for intervention.

A leaflet giving information about their case, together with that of Benjamin Moloise who had been under sentence-of death since June 1983, was produced and encouraged members to protest to the South African regime and to press the British government to intervene. It was announced that Payi had been given leave to appeal against sentence, but this was refused in the case of Xulu.

On 16 August SATIS received information that the regime planned to execute Benjamin Moloise at dawn on 21 August. SATIS organised immediate demonstrations at South Africa House and secured wide-ranging representations from organisations and individuals, including the leader of the opposition and the Archbishop of Canterbury. An all-night vigil was called from noon on 20 August until dawn the following day when the execution was scheduled to take place. A breakthrough came when, for the first time in such a case, a stay of execution was granted 12 hours before it was scheduled. Many local AA groups organised events locally to focus on this case and SATIS encouraged other organisations to continue to make representations for clemency, while his lawyers prepared further submissions. The campaign received major publicity at this time.

A special SATIS leaflet was produced to mark the 20th anniversary of the execution of Vuyisile Mhni on 6 November 1964, urging support for the Benjamin Moloise campaign, and for all campaigns against death sentences, and for POW status for captured freedom fighters.

SATIS organised a meeting on 11 October 1984 to focus on the position of women political prisoners, and participated in a number of conferences and events organised by other groups. Campaigns against repression were a major focus of much of the AAM's work during the period of this report, especially in the mobilisation for the 16 June demonstration. SATIS speakers were invited to address a range of local meetings organised by AA groups, student unions, trade unions, etc. The list of addresses of families of political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia was once again updated and publicised by the AAM and SATIS, and thousands of cards and messages of support were sent by supporters to these families.

SATIS continued to liaise with a variety of organisations, at both national and international levels. Several representations were made to the ICRC on specific issues to do with prison conditions, and once again SATIS arranged for evidence of repression to be brought before the UN Human Rights Commission.

# FREE NELSON MANDELA

The concerted campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners has assumed even greater significance during the past 12 months. The position of Nelson Mandela as a pivotal figure in the South African liberation struggle is now universally recognised. Renewed rumours that Mandela was to be released began to circulate at the beginning of 1985 and were clarified by F W Botha when he stated that he and other long-term political prisoners would be released if they 'renounced violence'.



Mandela's inspiring statement rejecting such conditions and challenging Botha himself to renounce violence, unban the ANC, and dismantle apartheid received a tumultuous reception when it was read by his daughter Zinzi at a UDF rally in Soweto on 10 February 1985. The text was widely distributed by the AAM and SATIS both in Britain and internationally.

Press coverage of Mandela's continued imprisonment has been without precedent. An interview by Lord Bethell appeared in the *Mail on Sunday*, and a similar interview was carried later in the year by *The Times*. Profiles of Mandela have appeared in the press, and on radio and television.

Such has been the momentum of the campaign that by the end of August the entire international community was united in calling for Mandela's immediate and unconditional release. Prime minister Margaret Thatcher stressed her support for Mandela's unconditional release in a letter to AAM president Archbishop Huddleston in March. The same month the UN Security Council unanimously appealed for his unconditional and immediate release, and this was backed by a direct appeal from the EEC foreign ministers in July. In an even more significant move, various representatives of the South African business community have echoed these appeals.

Speculation over Mandela's release reached unprecedented heights in the run-up to Botha's much-haralred speech on 15 August to the Natal Nationalist Party congress. This speculation had been fuelled by comments from South African foreign minister R F Botha that members of the South African cabinet wanted Mandela to be released. By his unequivocal rejection of these calls, P W Botha signalled to the people of South Africa and the international community that he was not prepared to contemplate any fundamental change.

The Mandela family have taken a leading role in this international campaign, with Winnie Mandela boldly defying her banning and banishment order following the arson attack on her Brandfort home. Their daughter Zinzi has played a prominent part in the campaign for her father's release within South Africa and in the wider struggle against apartheid.

The international petition for the release of Nelson Mandela, coordinated by SATIS, was presented to the UN secretary general on 11 October, International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, by the AAM's president, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston at a special ceremony in New York. Over half a million signatures were collected for the SATIS petition, and other organisations presented their own petitions to the UN. In addition to the meeting with the UN secretary general, Bishop Huddleston addressed a meeting of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and gave a number of press interviews while in New York.

To coincide with the presentation of the petition, SATIS compiled a survey of events and action for the release of Nelson Mandela, which was circulated widely to other solidarity movements and the press.

Mandela's release was a major focus of the 16 June demonstration and of numerous pickets and demonstrations organised at South Africa House. SATIS organised a small workshop on this campaign for young people at the University of London

Union in February, and a sponsored Cycle for Mandela was again held in October.

Many organisations in Britain undertook specific actions to promote the call for Mandela's release. These included:

- Strathclyde University awarded an honorary doctorate in law to Mandela at a ceremony on 3 July, which was received by Zenani Mandela's husband, Prince Thumbumuzi Dlamini, on behalf of his father-in-law. The students association also awarded honorary membership to Nelson Mandela and Bishop Tutu, and negotiated the establishment of a Nelson Mandela Scholarship.

- In Leeds, the city council (which had previously honoured Mandela) held a civic reception in his honour on 19 October, addressed by former political prisoner David Kitson, at which a sculptural tribute to Mandela was presented.

- Aberdeen awarded the Freedom of the City, after a long campaign, to both Nelson and Winnie Mandela on 29 November, at a ceremony attended by ANC representatives and, in his own constituency, AAM's chairperson Bob Hughes MP.

- Again after a long campaign by students and staff, Lancaster University presented an honorary doctorate in law to Nelson Mandela at its degree ceremony on 4 December.

- At Edinburgh University, in spite of a concerted campaign, attempts to nominate Mandela as rector of the university were unsuccessful — after the university authorities refused to accept the nomination because it was not personally signed by Mandela. An acceptance of the nomination by his lawyers was apparently not admissible. However, the campaign highlighted Mandela's position and the students association is seeking other ways of honouring him.

- In June, the University of London Union awarded honorary life membership to Winnie Mandela.

- In Hull, which has already named public gardens in his honour, it was announced in July, at a civic function attended by ANC chief representative Solly Smith, that the Freedom of the City would be granted to Mandela, and to Bishop Tutu.

- At its annual delegate conference in May, the Inland Revenue Staff Federation decided to honour Mandela by naming its Commonwealth trade union scholarship after him.

- The London Borough of Southwark joined a growing list of towns and cities by naming a new road in the borough 'Mandela Way', at a ceremony in July.

- In Nottingham, the city council named a room in a sports centre after Mandela, and the university students union invited Winnie Mandela to become an honorary vice president of the union.

- On 11 June mayors representing over 50 towns and cities which have honoured Mandela came together in London at a meeting in the House of Commons, addressed by the Commonwealth assistant secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku and Bishop Huddleston. Dressed in ceremonial robes and chains of office, they proceeded to 10 Downing Street, where they handed in petitions to the prime minister urging her to take further steps to secure the release of Mandela.

In September two further events publicising the position of Nelson Mandela were announced: the GLC agreed to place Ian Walters' impressive bust of Nelson Mandela on a permanent site on the South Bank; and the British Defence and Aid Fund announced a poetry competition for school students.

Amongst actions taken in other countries one of the most pleasing was the decision by New York city council to name the street opposite the South African consulate 'Nelson and Winnie Mandela Corner'. The African Journalists Association made Nelson Mandela its Life Patron and initiated the Nelson Mandela Prize for outstanding work in the field of human rights. In France, the Bar Association named Mandela as the winner of its annual award to a lawyer upholding civil liberties, whilst in the Federal Republic of Germany a public campaign secured the support of hundreds of organisations for a sponsored advertisement in a major daily newspaper.

Following Nelson Mandela's rejection of Botha's conditional offer of release, the UN Security Council unanimously voted on 12 March to call on Pretoria to 'release unconditionally and immediately all political prisoners and detainees, including Nelson Mandela and all other black leaders, with whom it must deal in any meaningful discussion of the future of the country'.

In September 1985 there was some concern over Mandela's

health, and the AAM contacted the International Committee of the Red Cross to seek support for Winnie Mandela's demand that her husband be permitted to seek independent medical advice.

## Material Aid

Collections for material aid for the Southern African liberation movements has continued to be a vital aspect of the work, in particular, of local AA and student groups. These have taken the form of direct financial donations to the ANC and SWAPO as well as for projects such as those organised for SWAPO by the Namibia Support Committee.

In a new move the AAM's health committee launched a Medical Aid for Southern Africa campaign with the immediate task of collecting funds for the ANC's clinic at Morogoro in Tanzania. The secretary of the health committee was able to visit the clinic, as well as the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, in May 1985 for final consultation before launching MACSA.

Two other visitors to SOMAFCO from Britain were Anna Ridehalgh, a former member of the AAM national committee and a prominent figure in the Association of University

Teachers; and Glenys Kinnock, who took the opportunity of a visit to Tanzania with the Labour leader to make a special journey to SOMAFCO. Both have sought to promote greater support for ANC projects; at the TUC a special appeal from Glenys Kinnock was distributed to all delegates.

Local groups have continued to raise substantial sums for SOMAFCO during their annual Soweto Walks.

AAM supporters in the trade union movement have continued to respond to the SACTU Strike Fund; and an emergency fund was set up by the AAM to support the strike called by the South African NUM in August 1985.

A number of bands have given performances to raise funds for the liberation movements. At Birmingham University, for example, a locally based band, General Public, together with the ANC choir, raised over £1,000 for SWAPO's literacy campaign and SOMAFCO.

## INTERNATIONAL WORK

The Movement has continued to liaise closely with anti-apartheid and solidarity movements all over the world and to promote support for its policies and campaigns in many international organisations.

A heavy burden of this work has been borne by the AAM's president, Archbishop Huddleston. He has travelled widely to represent the AAM. On 31 October he presented to the UN secretary general the petitions collected calling for the release of Nelson Mandela, at the UN headquarters in New York, and addressed a meeting of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid. In January he visited India where he was received by prime minister Rajiv Gandhi. In July and August he paid an extensive visit to Australia and New Zealand, where he held meetings with prime ministers Hawke and Lange. All these visits attracted considerable publicity.

Archbishop Huddleston has also met many visitors from overseas in Britain. In March he led a delegation from the AAM which held extensive discussions with President Nyerere who was on an official state visit to Britain. This meeting provided a valuable opportunity for the AAM to exchange views of developments in Southern Africa with the chairman of the front line states.

In a different category was a meeting Archbishop Huddleston held with UN assistant secretary of state Chester Crocker.

The Movement has continued to liaise closely with the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid. This year saw the retirement of E S Reddy, the UN assistant secretary general for the Centre against Apartheid, who had been responsible for anti-apartheid activities at the UN since 1963. Mr Reddy was a close friend of many activists in the AAM and had played a major role not only in transforming UN resolutions and policies into action, but also in promoting the closest possible liaison between the UN and anti-apartheid movements.

Amongst UN meetings where the AAM was represented were a Council for Namibia meeting to mark the 100th anniversary of the colonial occupation of Namibia (Bob Hughes and Abdul Minty); a meeting of the Special Committee in March (Abdul Minty); a meeting in Tanzania on women and children under apartheid (Rachel Jewkes); a meeting in Hungary on apartheid and ideology (Abdul Minty); and the UN hearing on transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia (Abdul Minty).

The Movement has also continued to work closely with the Commonwealth Secretariat. The national committee agreed that the Movement's chairperson, Bob Hughes, should write to express its appreciation for the statement of the Common-

wealth secretary general calling for sanctions, which he issued following the UDF treason trial arrests in February. This was followed by an exclusive interview with him in *AA News*. In May Abdul Minty and Mike Terry participated in a Commonwealth media workshop on countering South African propaganda.

Other meetings attended by the AAM were a World Council of Churches consultation for solidarity groups in Frankfurt in May (Cate Clarke) and a Greens conference in the FRG on Namibia (Abdul Minty).

Especially in view of developments in the USA, the AAM has maintained close relations with a range of solidarity movements there. In January it assisted in hosting a brief programme for Jesse Jackson when he visited London. In July the director of the American Committee on Africa visited Britain and addressed the national steering committee for local authority action against apartheid.

The AAM was invited to visit the USSR as guests of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in April. Bob Hughes and Mike Terry had a useful working visit during which they met officials of the Soviet foreign ministry and participated in meetings at the Africa Institute and the Patrice Lumumba University to mark the 25th anniversary of the foundation of SWAPO. The AAM delegation also visited Minsk in the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The AAM has also followed closely developments within the European Community over Southern Africa. It has liaised closely with the Labour Group of European MPs, who have given their full support to the AAM. In April, at the initiative of Labour MEP Alf Lomas, the European Parliament adopted a resolution calling for a range of sanctions against South Africa. The Movement also expressed its appreciation for the action of the British EEC Commissioner, Stanley Clinton-Davis, in refusing to receive the South African ambassador to the EEC. In August, following the announcement that the 'thinks' was to visit South Africa, the AAM coordinated a joint letter from the anti-apartheid movements of the EEC to the president of the EEC council of ministers, Luxembourg's foreign minister Jacques Poos. This was followed by a meeting of EEC AAMs on 8 September in Brussels, at which a joint appeal to the EEC foreign ministers was agreed. This was released at a well-attended press conference the following day, and the appeal was presented by Mike Terry, on behalf of the AAMs, to senior foreign office officials in Luxembourg the same day. They undertook to circulate the appeal officially to the EEC foreign ministers. Participants at the Brussels meeting agreed that there should be continuing liaison among EEC AAMs.

During the period covered by this report the AAM has made impressive strides towards securing support for its campaigns and policies from all sections of the community.

This report again gives coverage of anti-apartheid activity in a number of major areas of work. However, even these reports only give the most superficial impression of the extent and nature of such work. It also cannot cover many anti-apartheid actions such as moves by the Co-operative Union and other co-ops to sever links, the work of organisations such as the United Nations Association which published an educational kit 'Apartheid Matters', campaigns by pensioners which secured a commitment by SAGA not to promote tourism to South Africa. It does, however, serve to show the growing commitment among the people of Britain to put an end to British collaboration with apartheid.

## Local Groups

Local groups and anti-apartheid activity has developed during the period of this report at a rate which, at times, has seemed unbelievable. The number of campaigns that local groups have undertaken and the intensity, vigour and enthusiasm with which they have been carried out has been a credit to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The Movement now has over 100 local groups throughout England, Scotland and Wales for the first time in its history. Activity in Scotland and Wales is coordinated by the Scottish and Welsh committees, and that in London by the London committee. New groups have been founded or re-established in Aberdare, Brighton, Barking and Dagenham, Barry, Bangor, Central Region (Scotland), Chertsey, Coventry, Cotswolds, Doncaster, Dumbarton, East Kilbride, Harrow, Herefordshire, Lampeter, Matlock, Newham, Newport, Nuneston, Penarth, Pendle and District, Portsmouth, Preston, Redbridge, Stockport, Stratford upon Avon, Swindon, Wakefield, Wellingborough, Whitby and Winchester; and there were moves to set up groups in Basingstoke, Bedford, Chelmsford, Luton, Mansfield, Northampton, Pimlico, Rochdale and St Albans.

During the past year local AA groups have been under incredible pressure, but despite this there has been an excellent response to the numerous events and campaigns organised. The year began with a successful week of action on Namibia, organised in conjunction with the Namibia Support Committee. This included the Namibia-Independence Now declaration campaign, a national lobby of parliament and lobbying of local MPs and MEPs and local authorities. Many groups held pickets outside branches of Barclays Bank to protest at its support for the illegal occupation of Namibia during the week of action, and activists took part in mass peace action at nuclear plants involved in processing Namibian uranium for the Trident programme. In addition, during September and October the Namibian Cultural and Theatre group toured Britain; venues included Bristol, Liverpool, Sheffield, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Birmingham.

However, it has been the boycott campaign which has been the major priority following its relaunch on 26 June 1984. In particular, a national day of action focusing on the chain of Next shops planned for 24 November produced, a few days before it was due to take place, a letter from the Hepworth/Next group with an undertaking that it would not renew the £6 million contract with South African suppliers. On 9 February 1985 the AAM held a conference at which local group activists planned for what proved to be one of the Movement's most active and successful months of boycott action in March 1985, when over a quarter of a million boycott leaflets were distributed in Wales alone and thousands of local activists organised hundreds of events. On the last Saturday in March it was estimated that some thousand pickets were held all over Britain.

No sooner was the March month of action over than it was decided to hold a national demonstration on 16 June — and with 25,000 people taking part, local group activists once again pulled out all the stops in contributing to this event. National days of leafleting outside Sainsbury's and Tesco's were held on 1 June and 6 July, and on 10 July the 'Sanctions Bill' received its first reading in the House of Commons, largely due to the work of local activists lobbying their MPs on this issue.

Local groups have organised their now traditional Soweto

Walks and, since the state of emergency, have taken every opportunity to demonstrate their opposition to the present situation in South Africa and Namibia, as well as persuading the British people to boycott apartheid.

Local groups are now in the process of collecting thousands of signatures calling for sanctions, to be presented at the beginning of the new session of parliament in November.

To do justice to all local groups by giving even the briefest account of their activities throughout the year would be impossible — and therefore it is important to stress that the examples given present only a skeleton outline of this activity.

The Scottish Committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and its groups in Aberdeen, Borders, Central Region, Dundee, East Kilbride, Edinburgh, Fife, Glasgow and West Lothian, have succeeded in raising the level of anti-apartheid activity dramatically during the past 12 months. Links with the labour movement, local authorities and the student movement have been strengthened. The first ever Scottish local authorities conference was held in Glasgow on 21 March, and this led to the establishment of a Scottish steering committee to coordinate local authority action throughout Scotland. The March month of action also saw the streets of Edinburgh filled with anti-apartheid supporters taking part in a torchlight procession on 16 March, and there was a mass demonstration outside the South African consulate in Glasgow on 29 March to protest at the UDF treason trial.

The Scottish Committee held its own demonstration to complement the 16 June demonstration on Saturday 22 June in Glasgow. In March it organised a weeklong tour of Scotland by speakers from the Dundee strikers. And Scottish AA groups have undertaken their own campaigning activities from Soweto Walks to boycott pickets.

The Committee is currently engaged in trying to establish an office with a staff member to place the Movement on an even sounder basis. It is also actively preparing for the Commonwealth Games in cooperation with Edinburgh district council. The RFU tour of South Africa in 1984 and the planned 1986 Lions tour have already given rise to moves against the participation of teams from Britain in the Games.

The Wales Anti-Apartheid Movement has experienced a similar rapid growth in its strength and influence. There are now AA groups in Aberdare, Abergavenny, Aberystwyth, Bangor, Barry, Bridgend, Cardiff, Lampeter, Llanelli, Newport, Penarth, Pontypridd, Rhondda, West Glamorgan and Wrexham. A great deal of effort has had to be concentrated on campaigns against sporting and cultural collaboration between Wales and South Africa.

Despite a sustained and impressive campaign, including the opposition of Sir William Crawshaw, the Crawshaw rugby team toured South Africa in what was seen as a replacement for the All Blacks tour. Another priority was the Llangollen International Eisteddfod, which has developed a long history of collaboration with South Africa. WAAM organised a large stall at the National Eisteddfod and secured a small but significant victory when the organisers agreed to end the practice of giving a special welcome to Welsh-speaking visitors from South Africa.

WAAM held a successful AGM in May 1985, at which further consideration was given to strengthening the Movement in Wales. WAAM continues to translate and publish much of the AAM's material in Welsh, as well as producing its own campaign material, including a study of over 300 companies based in Wales with links with South Africa.

WAAM has also continued to be extremely effective in securing publicity in the press and other media for the Movement's campaigns and policies. It is now investigating the

establishment of an office and full-time secretary.

The London Committee of the AAM, which coordinates London AA group activities, has been busy this year in assisting in the establishment of five new AA groups. It has continued to work closely with the Greater London Council and has represented the AAM at many cultural events, conferences, festivals and meetings in London. It organised numerous pickets, for example outside South African Airways in Oxford Circus, the South African embassy in Trafalgar Square, at the auction of karakul furs illegally imported from Namibia, and against the presence in London of the former South African finance minister, Owen Horwood. It coordinated a campaign to persuade London Rotary clubs not to send young people to South Africa. It is now producing a monthly newsletter advertising anti-apartheid activities in London which is widely distributed throughout the capital. It is at present mobilising for a London campaigning conference to be held in October.

Barnet AA commemorated their 25th anniversary in October by staging pickets outside shops and Barclays Bank in Finchley and distributing leaflets. They also raised £150 at their fund-raising lunch, when the guest of honour was David Kitson, and had a successful well-attended AGM with Zac Yacoob, lawyer for the UDF treason trialists, speaking.

Birmingham AA continued with their solid campaign work throughout the year, including organising an international cultural evening to mark the AAM's 25th anniversary. They have also organised successful protests outside Alexander stadium to protest at the invitation to Zola Budd to run in the four-nation women's international athletics. Birmingham succeeded in filling five coaches to attend the national demonstration in June.

Bradford AA managed to have a local cricket match in Brighouse cancelled because of the participation of a South African youth team. They also protested against the provost of Bradford's visit to South Africa.

Brent AA have become one of the AAM's big fund-raising groups, donating nearly £1,000 to the Movement through the sale of their Mandela mugs. They have also produced their own newsletter and organised their Soweto Walk to join the national demonstration in June.

Bristol AA have been very active once again this year, taking part in all the Movement's campaigns including picketing a newly opened Bottoms Up wine store because it was promoting cheap South African wines, resulting in many shoppers refusing to buy them. They also helped to coordinate a two-week tour of their student street theatre group which took part in the Covent Garden Festival in July.

Cambridge AA in particular this year worked closely with their local council in promoting an anti-apartheid declaration, and addressed a meeting in March at which the city council named a children's playground after Hector Peterson, the first victim of the Soweto uprisings. They have also continued their work on the academic boycott.

Camden AA has yet again raised over £700 for the Movement's funds, as well as organising numerous other activities. In May of this year, at a CND rally, members of the group contributed a 'strip patch' with the group's name on it to a patchwork ribbon carried down Whitehall to encircle the ministry of defence.

Croydon AA have continued to build up support for anti-apartheid activities in the area, and had to hold a repeat ceremony to honour Nelson Mandela in December 1984 after a commemorative plaque was stolen. The original ceremony, held in October, was attended by over 50 local dignitaries.

Canterbury AA raised over £300 in their Soweto Walk.

Doncaster AA, a new group, have organised pickets outside every branch of Barclays in the town and are taking up the issues of imported South African coal and illegal uranium from Namibia in their mining community.

Exeter AA succeeded this year, among its many other activities, in securing the adoption by Exeter city council of an anti-apartheid policy.

Hackney & Tower Hamlets AA have continued to build up links with Hackney council and encouraged the council in implementing its anti-apartheid policy more fully. The group joined with trade unionists in May to protest at the presence of Barclays Bank at an exhibition sponsored by Tower Hamlets council. In June the group helped to launch a new pamphlet produced by Tower Hamlets International Solidarity, entitled *Pulling out of apartheid*; and organised a Mandela birthday party in July.



Nottingham AA join Equity members



Teesside AA Soweto Walkers



Camden AA boycott products of apartheid

Haringey AA as usual had a year packed full of activities too numerous to mention. They continued to work closely with the council, especially during the March month of action.

Hull AA stepped up its activity this year, holding a major public meeting on the anniversary of Sharpeville, and worked closely with the city council which is to grant the Freedom of the City to Nelson Mandela and Bishop Tutu.

Leeds AA pursued a packed programme of events this year, including public meetings and workshops focusing in particular on the issue of women under apartheid. They have also organised regular picketing of local branches of Safeways and Morrisons supermarkets.

Leicester AA, much to everyone's astonishment, pulled off a hard-fought publicity campaign by persuading the Leicester Mercury (not renowned for its liberal thinking) to provide £800-worth of advertising space to warn shoppers against buying South African products.

Merseyside AA's events this year have included hosting meetings and interviews for the Dunnes Stores strikers and sending representatives to meetings at local student unions. During the March month of action the group organised a meeting and social as part of Ellen Musialela's SWAPO tour.

North Devon AA, although a small group, has continued with a frenzy of activity in Barnstaple, including pickets of Barclays Bank and an exhibition in a local school. The group also succeeded in making the theme of North Devon's May Day rally 'Freedom for Southern Africa'.

Newham AA is a new group which has worked in close cooperation with the council in launching an anti-apartheid declaration, and has continued campaigning to ensure that the council withdraws its account from Barclays.

Nottingham AA have continued to build up their local links and sent speakers to many meetings as well as maintaining a busy programme of events which has included working with their local trade unions, particularly the Hosiery and Knitwear Union to stop Tesco's selling of tights from South Africa. They achieved a minor victory when Tesco's agreed to stop labelling them as 'Product of RSA' and to indicate clearly that they came from South Africa.

Oxford AA have had a very successful year. Not only did they organise a major demonstration in March, sponsored by AAM nationally and by the National Union of Students, to protest at invitations extended by the Oxford Union to ambassadors of apartheid to take part in a Union debate, but they were also instrumental in the successful campaign resulting in Oxford & Swindon Co-op's becoming the first in the country to declare a total ban on South African goods.

Richmond AA have organised many meetings this year. They played host to David Kilson in March and Peter Manning from SWAPO in February. Although a demonstration called in March had to be cancelled because of a blanket ban on all marches by the police, the group nevertheless had a successful rally on Isleworth Green to call for more effective local boycott action.

Sheffield AA organised far too many events to be even summarised in this annual report. They continued their close relationship with Sheffield city council; they conducted a survey of apartheid products in their local shops which revealed furniture sold in MFI from South Africa; and have persuaded the Council of Churches to press the British and Foreign Bible Society to remove its account from Barclays, whilst the South Yorkshire Housing Association has already removed its multi-million pound account from the bank. Their work on the cultural boycott has also been in the forefront of their activities, including a 200-strong picket to greet Leo Sayer.

South London AA groups have increased their activities this year and organised many events throughout the boroughs of Lambeth, Southwark, Wandsworth, Battersea and Lewisham. All the groups have worked with these local authorities in implementing their anti-apartheid declarations (Southwark receiving a £1,000 grant), except in Wandsworth where the group has been running campaigns to persuade the council to

withdraw its bank account from Barclays and to dispense with the services of the Pritchard cleaning company who are heavily involved in South Africa. All the groups have organised regular meetings and boycott pickets outside local supermarkets, including collecting material aid. South London groups also instigated a campaign to protest at local Rotary club visits to South Africa.

Southampton AA is renowned for its campaign work and this year has been no exception. It is not possible to mention all of the work they have covered this year, but they were involved, together with local dockers, in preventing the loading of Berox milling machines onto ships destined for South Africa. They also raised over \$900 from their Soweto Walk.

Teesside AA started off their year by raising over £300 on their Soweto Walk, started by the mayor of Middlesbrough, but have concentrated a great deal of their work on the cultural boycott campaign, a notable success of which was to persuade Chris Rea, a local rock star, not to tour South Africa.

Tyneside AA, as we have come to expect, provided a year of very varied events in support of the Movement's campaigns, including demonstrations against the recruitment of Newcastle miners by a South African company, Gencor; and protests outside Gateshead stadium during events involving Zola Budd. After the killings at Langa the group set up a table in the city centre in Newcastle for people to send protests to the South African ambassador, and in April they organised a very well attended and successful 'South Africa in Crisis' dayschool.

## Youth & Students

The AAM's work within the student movement began by responding to the overwhelming demand for material and literature during Freshers Weeks in October. This initial enthusiasm continued when NUS and the Movement organised a mammoth speaking tour on behalf of ANC and SWAPO. The tour lasted five weeks, visiting universities, polytechnics and colleges in Aberdeen, Stirling, Paisley, Strathclyde, Glasgow, Hull, Bradford, Manchester, Durham, Middlesbrough, Bolton, Salford, Birmingham, Liverpool, York, Nottingham, Preston, Sheffield, Warwick, Leicester, Norwich, Oxford, Kent, Brighton, Surrey, Southampton, London and Bath. The tour led to the setting up and rejuvenation of anti-apartheid groups in the majority of the colleges and all together the speakers addressed over 3,000 students.

At the end of the tour, a national day conference was organised with over 200 delegates present, and which listened to speakers from ANC and SWAPO, the ANC women's section and the lawyer for the UDF treason trialists, Zac Yacoob. This was followed by a torchlight procession organised by AAM.

The AAM serviced both NUS conferences this academic year, in December where a representative addressed a meeting organised by the National Black Student Alliance, and at Easter when the AAM was prioritised to have a speaker at the conference.

NUS also sponsored the national demonstration in June and offset the cost of poster production for the event. They jointly mobilised with the AAM for the demonstration in Oxford in March to protest at Oxford Union's debate with representatives of the apartheid regime.

All these efforts have ensured a very active and enthusiastic year within the student movement, and some of the specific actions taken by individual students' unions include: an honorary degree awarded to Nelson Mandela at Strathclyde; an honorary doctorate in law awarded to Nelson Mandela by Lancaster University; the historic decision by Oxford University to divest from companies connected with apartheid; pickets organised by Harrow College of Higher Education and York University to protest at invitations extended to a South African embassy attache and John Carlisle respectively; the refusal of facilities to Barclays Bank at Digby Stuart College of Higher Education; a 'Rock against Apartheid' concert at Thames Polytechnic; and the banning of Barclays cheques and Barclaycard by Exeter University, to mention but a few.



The AAM has also maintained links with student political organisations throughout the year. The British Youth Council has once again fully supported the Movement's campaigns — they sponsored the national demonstration and are preparing an anti-apartheid information pack. The Young Christian Workers have also been very active this year, particularly in the boycott campaign and collecting material aid. There has been a huge increase in speaker requests from students, but also from youth clubs and schools.

This impressive demonstration of solidarity shown by youth and students in this country directly correlates with the demands of and the role played by youth and students in South Africa and Namibia, and proves that once again the young people in Britain are in the forefront of the campaign against apartheid.

Following the declaration of the state of emergency in South Africa and the subsequent banning of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), the NUS initiated a series of student campaign activities for the autumn of 1985.

## Trade Unions

The AAM's work amongst the British trade union movement has made significant progress during the period of this report. Three new national affiliations — the Institute of Professional Civil Servants, the National Union of Teachers and the Society of Telecom Executives — brought the total number of national trade unions in membership of the AAM to 35, representing some 88 per cent of the TUC's membership. Non-national trade union membership, including branches, regions and trades councils, is now around 300.

This organised support for the AAM expressed itself in the active participation of the trade union movement in a range of the AAM's campaigns. In the resolution adopted at the 1984 AGM it was agreed that affiliated unions should 'make a special effort to make 1984/5 a year of Boycott Action'.

### The boycott campaign

Trade unionists were well represented at the boycott conference on 9 February, with over 60 delegates attending the workshop on trade union action. The trade union committee organised a boycott appeal which was publicised and distributed during the March month of boycott. It was endorsed by the general secretaries of 24 national trade unions, including the president and general secretary of the shopworkers union USDAW. The boycott appeal urged 'our members and other fellow trade unionists to express their condemnation of apartheid by boycotting all products of apartheid'. Most unions either distributed AAM material or their own campaigning material amongst their members during the month of action.

The impact of this work has expressed itself not only in the active participation in the boycott campaign of many trade unionists, but also secured the official support of the TUC. At the 1985 Trades Union Congress, the resolution adopted gave explicit support for the AAM's boycott campaign, which was followed by direct approaches to Britain's retailers by the TUC general secretary.

### Action for sanctions

Active participation in the boycott campaign is a reflection of the wider support within the trade union movement for sanctions. Repeated appeals by trade unions have been directed to the government; in particular, 34 national trade union leaders signed a joint letter to the foreign secretary on the eve of the EEC Council of Ministers in Luxembourg on 10 September 1985. The AAM was particularly encouraged by this initiative because it attracted the support of the general secretaries of a number of unions not affiliated to the Movement, including the EPTU and the First Division Association.

This year has also seen trade unionists taking action themselves to impose sanctions. In a move which received considerable media attention TGWU members at Southampton docks, working in cooperation with a number of other unions, stopped the export of a milling machine destined for Atlas Aircraft, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Armcor (see section on *Military and Nuclear Collaboration* for further details). Civil service unions at the Passport Office and at the British Library were amongst trade unionists who also took action.

Such initiatives have been clearly inspired by the determined action of a group of shopworkers in Dublin. Eleven members of IDATU (Irish Distributive and Administrative Trade Union) have been on strike since 17 July 1984 following the victimisation of Mary Manning (for refusing to handle South African goods at Dunnes Stores in Henry Street, Dublin). The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, in cooperation with IDATU, has been seeking to promote support for their struggle in Britain, particularly amongst trade unionists. The AAM was able to welcome a group of the strikers to London when they met Bishop Desmond Tutu whilst on his way to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. The AAM publicised the IDATU strike fund, Mary Manning addressed the boycott conference, *AA News* carried a series of stories on the strike, and speaking tours were organised by the Scottish AAM and by the AAM for England and Wales. Over the year the strike has attracted growing publicity. The AAM cooperated with Granada TV's 'Union World' which produced a special programme on the strike. USDAW's journal, *Dawn*, has publicised the campaign of the Dunnes strikers and the TUC gave its full backing at the 1985 Congress thanks to the initiative of the NUJ.

In a further important move the Maritime Unions against Apartheid have convened an international conference for trade union delegates to discuss the enforcement of the oil embargo by trade union action.

### Crisis in South Africa

The trade union movement has thrown its full weight behind

the AAM's campaigns as the crisis in South Africa has deepened. A dozen unions backed the emergency demonstration held on 17 November 1984 and there was even more substantial support for the 16 June demonstration, which was backed by 28 national unions who circulated tens of thousands of leaflets and other publicity material for the demonstration. Michael Perkins, president of the Society of Civil and Public Servants, addressed the Trafalgar Square rally on 16 June.

Many union executive committees and conferences endorsed the ten-point programme of action which the AAM launched following the massacre at Langa.

There has been similar support for AAM campaigns over Namibia. Eleven national unions supported the Namibia - Independence Now declaration, and affiliated unions responded positively to AAM representations over the propaganda activities of the regime's public relations operation, the Namibia Information Service.

Trade unionists have also participated actively in the campaigning activities which have been organised since the state of emergency was declared in South Africa. For example, the Greater London Association of Trades Councils organised its own pickets of South Africa House, and the entire executive committee of the TGWU picketed the embassy on another occasion. Through the year the following unions were represented at demonstrations: AUEW-TASS, ACTT, APEX, BFAWU, CPISA, FBU, IRSE, NALGO, Kent NUM, NUPE, NUS, SCPS, TGWU and UCATT.

### Relations with the TUC

The AAM has sought to work closely with the TUC on areas of common interest. A delegation, including the AAM's chairperson, Bob Hughes MP, and Abdul Minty, met the TUC general secretary on 18 March 1985 and discussed developments in Southern Africa and areas of cooperation. Following this meeting, the TUC circulated material on the boycott campaign to all its affiliates. Further meetings have taken place with the TUC international department to maintain this liaison.

The most significant development was the resolution unanimously adopted at the 1985 Congress, the text of which was:

Congress expresses its grave concern and dismay at recent events in South Africa including the massacre at Langa on March 21, 1985, the arrest of United Democratic Front and trade union leaders on charges of high treason, the systematic oppression by the South African authorities of all forms of opposition to apartheid, and in particular the declaration of a State of Emergency by the apartheid regime on July 20.

Congress recognises the important role of the UDF, the ANC, and SACTU in politicising the opposition to the South African authorities and congratulates trade union organisations in South Africa in emerging as a leading movement in opposition to the South African authorities, and expresses support for them.

Congress welcomes the decision of the United Nations Security Council on July 26, 1985, initiated by the French Government and the recent initiatives of the American Congress in calling for economic sanctions. Congress condemns the British Government for its failure to respond to the developments in South Africa with effective action, in particular its refusal to respond to the call of the United Nations to impose sanctions.

Congress recognises that the trade union movement as a whole now has to take action to isolate South Africa and in particular expresses support for the Anti-Apartheid Movement's boycott campaign. It applauds the ICTU member union IDATU and its members for refusing to handle South African produce at an Irish supermarket chain and the action of TGWU members at Southampton docks in stopping the export of equipment in breach of the United Nations mandatory arms embargo. It expresses support for trade unions which take action to enforce the UN arms embargo and an oil embargo.

The resolution was moved by the AUEW, seconded by the FBU and supported by NALGO, USDAW, NUS and NUJ, which in itself reflected the extent of support within the TUC for the AAM's policies.

At the TUC Congress the AAM again held a successful fringe

event which was addressed by ANC, SWAPO and SACTU representatives, together with a speaker from the Durness strikers.

### Trade union committee

These developments within the trade union movement have been the result primarily of the trade union committee and the Movement's new trade union secretary, Simon Sapper, who started work for the AAM in October 1984. As a result of the work of the committee, the AAM was represented at 30 national trade union conferences, usually in the form of a fringe meeting and/or bookstall. Unions which adopted new policy at their 1985 conferences included the STUC, APEX, CSU, AUEW, AUEW-TASS, BIFU, CPISA, SCPS, IRSE, FBU, NALGO, NUJ, ASTMS and NUS. At all of these conferences AAM representatives found greatly increased support and enthusiasm for the AAM and its campaigns.

This work at trade union conferences has been followed up by extensive educational work. This has included speakers at trade union meetings and schools, provision of material for trade union branches, and the preparation of articles for trade union journals. This last example has been an area where there has been tremendous progress. It is not possible to detail all the articles which have appeared in the trade union press in this report; but all told the work of the AAM and the fight against apartheid has appeared in the following union journals: AUEW, AUEW-TASS, ACTT, ABS, CPISA, COHSE, FBU, IRSE, IPCS, NALGO, NUM, NUS, SCPS, STE, TGWU, UCS and USDAW. An impression of the impact of such publicity can be gained from the fact that the journals of Britain's two largest unions, TGWU and AUEW, had the main cover story on South Africa in their September 1985 issues.

An encouraging development in this area is the production of a regular newsletter by the South West Regional AA trade union committee in cooperation with the SW Regional TUC.

The trade union committee has followed closely developments within the trade union movement in South Africa. Complementing its close working relations with SACTU, the AAM has also maintained contact with a number of the democratic and non-racial unions operating openly within South Africa. In response to the decision of the National Union of Mineworkers, for example, to call for strike action on the mines, the AAM established an Emergency South African Miners' Strike Fund which NUM general secretary Peter Heathfield agreed to serve as one of the trustees.

The trade union committee also worked in close liaison with BFAWU to relaunch the campaign over the case of Oscar Mpetha, aged 76 and a diabetic who had one leg amputated, was released on bail of one rand in 1983 pending his appeal against a five-years sentence. His appeal was lost and he was therefore sent to prison to serve the sentence. A demonstration was held outside South Africa House and appeals to the South African state president and the British foreign secretary were made by 15 trade unions representing over four million trade unionists. Representations to the British government resulted in a formal intervention by Britain for his release.



Close liaison is maintained with SACTU over all aspects of the AAM's trade union work, and the AAM was honoured to be invited to address the meeting to celebrate SACTU's 30th anniversary in March 1985, when the AAM was represented by its former deputy secretary, Chris Child.

The trade union committee has also sought to improve its liaison with other committees of the AAM. The editor of *Anti-*

*Apartheid News* addressed the committee, and this resulted in improved coverage of trade union activities, including a special issue for the TUC which was distributed in Blackpool and through many individual unions. The health committee and the trade union committee cooperated over the convening of a special meeting for health trade unions to explore a number of initiatives in this area. In a related development, the representatives of the civil service unions on the committee are now meeting quarterly to discuss common action within the civil service.

The committee is well aware of the need for the production of material which can put the AAM's case to trade unionists. It cooperated with Tower Harlets International Solidarity in the publication *Pulling Out From Apartheid*, as well as with NALGO in their *Guide to Apartheid* which is shortly to be published.

The potential for increased support within the trade union movement for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and its policies and campaigns is tremendous. The period covered by this report has seen significant advances. However, if this momentum is to be maintained, it will require the necessary resources, both financial and human.

## Local Authorities

To catalogue all the actions taken and policies adopted by local authorities in the past year would be impossible. Suffice it to say that a survey, commissioned by the United Nations and published by the City of Sheffield Metropolitan District Council (on behalf of the National Steering Committee on Local Authority Action against Apartheid) in June 1985, details local authority activities up until December 1984 and shows that a staggering 121 councils in England, Scotland and Wales — representing 36 million people (66 per cent of the population) — have decided on some form of action or policy against apartheid. This figure includes:

- all the metropolitan county councils, including the GLC
- 6 out of the 10 largest non-metropolitan county councils
- 22 out of the 36 metropolitan district councils
- 5 out of the 10 largest non-metropolitan district councils
- the GLC plus 15 of the 32 London boroughs
- 9 Scottish regions representing 65% of the population
- 7 out of the 10 largest Scottish district councils
- 5 out of the 8 Welsh counties
- 6 out of the 10 largest Welsh district councils

An analysis of the areas in which local authorities are supporting action against apartheid gives the following breakdown (most councils taking more than one form of action):

General anti-apartheid policy declarations (based on the 'Model Declaration') — 29; banning purchases of South African and Namibian products — 70; disinvestment policies — 38; discouraging economic links and trade missions — 22; withdrawing accounts from banks with South African involvement — 14; banning advertisements of South African and Namibian products — 11; promoting positive teaching on apartheid — 12; anti-apartheid displays in libraries and banning South African propaganda — 21; cultural boycotts — 28; sports boycotts — 41; twinning or other relations with African towns, or direct relations with the liberation movements — 12; honouring opponents of apartheid — 26; banning official visits from South Africa or Namibia — 26; developing a public understanding of the situation in Southern Africa — 21.

Since December 1984 many local authorities have taken action for the first time and most of those listed in the survey have pursued programmes to implement their policies.

Nineteen eighty-five also saw the local authorities recall conference, which took place in February, when delegates from over 70 local authorities met, courtesy of Camden Council, to discuss further initiatives in campaigning against apartheid and reducing British links with apartheid South Africa. This conference also elected the new national steering committee on local authority action against apartheid, whose composition reflects the range in size and type of local authorities involved in anti-apartheid work and has representatives from: metropolitan counties GLC, Merseyside CC, West Yorkshire; county councils Cumbria; metropolitan districts Birmingham City, Calderdale, Leeds City, Sheffield, Rotherham; London boroughs Camden, Hackney, Southwark; non-metropolitan districts Edinburgh, Stirling, Merthyr Tydfil, Basildon, Bolsover, Harlow, Stoke-on-Trent, Wrexham, Yeovil.

The recall conference preceded a very successful week of local authority action against apartheid, which took place from 18-25 March. During this week, 23 local authorities placed advertisements in their local newspapers publicising their anti-apartheid policies, and to mark the beginning of the week 42 council leaders signed a joint appeal for sanctions addressed to the prime minister. The kind of activities which took place during the week itself ranged from hoisting the ANC flag over the town hall (Camden); producing a boycott leaflet for the people in the borough (Haringey), to renaming two areas the Sharpeville Hills and Nelson Mandela Square (Basildon) and hosting a Scottish local authorities conference (Glasgow) — to name but a few. The initiative in Glasgow led in turn to the formation of the Scottish steering committee.

Action continued in June, when a historic delegation of mayors and leaders of over 60 councils in their official regalia marched on 10 Downing Street and presented individual petitions calling for the release of Nelson Mandela. Throughout the year, local authorities have continued to forge successful links with local anti-apartheid groups and, in some cases, have grant-aided these groups.

The national steering committee has met twice since it was elected in February and has already formulated plans for a 10-day period of activity from 16-25 June 1986 to coincide with the 10th anniversary of Soweto. It is also planning seminars on the more difficult issues of implementing anti-apartheid declarations, such as the legal implications of investment and purchasing policies, and an educational seminar specifically on Namibia. To help cope with the unbelievable increase in local authority anti-apartheid campaigns, the national steering committee is examining the possibility of establishing an information and research unit.

Such enthusiasm and vigour should ensure that local authorities will be in the forefront of the campaign against apartheid in the coming year.

A more detailed account of specific action by individual local authorities can be obtained from AAM headquarters.

## Education

Even more effort has been placed on educational work this year, including in particular an increased speaker service to secondary and sixth form schools; and in taking part in school pupil interviews at AAM headquarters.

In addition, quite a number of local authorities which have responsibility for education have adopted policy to ensure positive teaching of the African liberation struggles in their schools — and have, in accordance with those policies, promoted anti-apartheid exhibitions within their schools and libraries.

The AAM has participated fully in the work of the British Defence and Aid Fund's education committee — including the preparation and presentation of 'Brian's Stake in Apartheid' at two sixth form conferences in December 1984 and March 1985.

The recall conference of local authorities held a special workshop on this area of work. It is hoped that the decision of the National Union of Teachers to affiliate to the AAM will result in even more activity in this area. The NUT have appointed an observer to sit on the national steering committee on local authority action against apartheid.

# Health

The Anti-Apartheid Movement health committee has continued to campaign vigorously for the isolation of South Africa in the field of health and to inform the people of Britain about the devastating effect of apartheid on health and the provision of health care for the people of South Africa.

There have been very significant developments in the campaign to isolate apartheid medical education, resulting from concerted campaigning by the health committee. The General Medical Council sent a delegation to the Medical University of Southern Africa (Medunsa), despite an appeal from the AAM. The outcry that followed forced the GMC to give Medunsa graduates 'limited registration' status (all the other South African medical schools have a privileged position of automatic full registration with the GMC), and the GMC expressed its intention of working to change the Medical Act, so that all South Africa's medical degrees can be downgraded to 'limited registration' status.

The committee has had encouraging results from some of its long-running campaigns to isolate South Africa further in the international medical field.

The World Medical Association was forced to move its world congress, which was due to be held this year in Cape Town, to Brussels. This followed considerable international pressure, which was partly organised by the health committee and the Medical Practitioners' Union.

In the arena of international psychiatry, this year saw the World Federation of Mental Health exclude South African delegates from its Brighton conference and suspend South Africa for a minimum of the next two years. The conference was leafleted by AA activists urging the full expulsion of South Africa.

A further successful picket was organised outside the 2nd European Congress of Occupational Therapists, which had South African participants. This picket has greatly raised the level of discussion about South Africa's continued participation in the organisation, as it followed similar protests in Denmark at last year's congress.

A new improved memorandum to the IPPF has been produced and widely circulated internationally. It has been very favourably received, in general, in international family planning circles and it is hoped that this will lead to the expulsion of South Africa following the IPPF council meeting in November 1985.

The health committee has continued to strengthen its links with the health service community in this country. A successful meeting was held with the major health trade unions, and the Medical Practitioners' Union has taken up the case of Dr Essop Jassat, one of the UDF treason trialists, and the campaign at the WMA.

Campaigning on medical student electives has increased this year, and St Mary's Hospital Medical School passed a resolution in their student union officially discouraging electives in South Africa and refusing funding for those students who insist on going.

*Health and Liberation*, the quarterly bulletin of the health committee, has continued to be regularly produced this year and has an ever-increasing circulation. Issues have continued to cover health committee campaigns, an update on the health situation in Southern Africa, and longer in-depth articles on specific topics. The health committee has also sent many speakers to meetings up and down the country, talking about health in general in Southern Africa and specifically women's health. A series of pamphlets on women's health is also currently being produced as part of a joint project with the AAM women's committee.

There have been important developments in the area of disabled sport. A successful demonstration outside the International Paralympic Games at Stoke Mandeville in July 1985 was once again organised by Disabled People Against Apartheid. Teams boycotting the games this year included, for the first time, the United States. A successful resolution of the Stoke



Mandeville Games Association meeting has led to South Africa's suspension from future games, and this was followed by the British Sporting Association for the Disabled passing a similar resolution calling for South Africa's exclusion from all disabled sport in Britain and on the minister of sport to ensure that disabled sport is not excluded from the Gleneagles Agreement.

The Medical Aid Campaign for Southern Africa has got off to a flying start this year after the visit by a member of the health committee to the Solomon Mahangu Freedom College in Tanzania in May. The campaign has a leaflet which is available from AAM HQ and will focus on collecting money for drugs, lab reagents, medical books, and equipment which has a daily high turnover, such as needles, syringes, rubber gloves and so forth. We are also collecting second-hand hospital equipment, and nursing and medical journals. In the first three months of the campaign, £1,480 has been raised, and 37 hospital beds, several wheelchairs, many surgical instruments and other useful items, and 20 assorted medical textbooks, have been donated. This is just the beginning and much more support will be needed if we are to be of significant assistance to the ANC. At the same time, MACSA promotes the Namibia Support Committee's health kits for SWAPO.



## Women

Nineteen eighty-four was the ANC Year of the Women; 1985 marked the end of the UN Decade for Women. What have the 12 months straddling these two held for women?

The achievements of women fighting apartheid in Southern Africa are our continual inspiration and hope. It is in solidarity with their struggle that the AAM women's committee works among women in Britain.

One of the early events on the calendar for the women's committee was a follow-up to previous pickets of Next, a chain store stocking South African clothes. When it came to it the committee was delighted to cancel the picket when Next confirmed that they would not renew their South African contract. This decision was welcomed and the picket was moved to Country Casuals. It has since been reported that Richards Shops have taken over the contract that Next cancelled, so this will be a continued campaigning focus for the coming months.

In 1984, the Year of the Women provided a theme to increase the AAM's links with women working in the British media. The women's committee held a successful and well-attended briefing of media women in September, and in the months since then there have been articles either taken from the women's committee newsletter or specially commissioned in a number of women's magazines, including *Over 21*, *Honey*, *Everywoman* and *Spare Rib*. The bi-monthly newsletter continues to be an important campaigning tool. It provides a link with women's groups and individual women around the country and has served to recruit many new women to the Movement.

The 1984 UN Day of Solidarity with Political Prisoners in South Africa and Namibia on 11 October focused on women political prisoners. A public meeting combined poetry reading with more formal speeches in a well-received presentation. In 1985, the women's committee has continued to highlight women political prisoners, especially with the arrest of Albertina Sisulu — the only woman amongst the UDF treason trialists.

The women's committee has responded to many requests for speakers, exhibitions and information stalls, especially around International Women's Day on 8 March. Attendance at the women's workshop at the AAM national boycott conference in February proved the importance of continuing to provide such opportunities for women to work together at AAM events. A very successful fringe meeting was organised at the Labour Party's women's conference this year where delegates heard from ANC and SWAPO representatives about the current resistance to apartheid and were urged to support sanctions against the regime. There was also a record attendance at ANC Women's Day, 9 August, this year. All these have resulted in a marked increase in the support for the boycott campaign from women's groups, and the July/August issue of *Anti-Apartheid News* carried a solidarity advertisement sponsored by an impressive list of women's groups and women's centres now to the Movement.

In May, the AAM was represented at the UN conference on 'Women and Children Under Apartheid' in Tanzania, where useful contacts were made to further the campaign to expel South Africa from the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). The health and women's committees continue to cooperate on both this campaign and the production of a book on women and health, for which we have received a number of generous donations.

For the women's committee, its current programme includes the production of a series of factsheets on women in South Africa and Namibia, including a poster on the boycott campaign. Women in Liverpool are working on a video which will be used to recruit women's and girls' groups for the boycott campaign. There is much potential for future work — the women's committee enters a new year with determination and hope.

## Black Community

Developments in Southern Africa have had a marked impact on the black community in Britain. Many Afro-Caribbean and Asian organisations have taken their own initiatives to express solidarity with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and to expose British collaboration. In recognition of this and the widespread anger within the black community at P.W. Botha's visit to Britain in 1984, the AAM has sought to strengthen its contact with black organisations, both nationally and locally, and also established a small working group of the executive committee to examine this area of work further.

It is not possible to give a full account of all the initiatives which the AAM has taken. These have involved not just community organisations but also work within the trade union movement, local authorities and religious groups. For example, in the trade union movement the AAM liaised closely with the Afro-Asian Group within Equity over the visit of Equity president Derek Bond to South Africa and other issues relating to the cultural boycott. Among the local authorities, both individual black councillors and ethnic minority or equivalent committees and units have been at the forefront of promoting anti-apartheid policies by councils. The AAM was invited to address the Standing Conference of Afro-Caribbean and Asian Councillors to discuss action that councils can take to promote disinvestment. Equally, the establishment of the Multi-Faiths Committee has led to contact with religious organisations which draw their believers largely from ethnic minority communities such as the Sikh and Islamic faiths. For example, the Islamic Council of Europe has campaigned actively on the UDF treason trial.

As a small but significant step to reach different communities within British society, multilingual leaflets, for example on the boycott and for the 16 June demonstration, have been produced.

Within the Caribbean community the AAM has cooperated with many organisations, including the West Indian Standing Conference. Clarence Thompson from WISC addressed the 16 June demonstration and WISC organised its own service for the victims of apartheid at St Martin in the Fields at the end of August 1985.

The visit of Jesse Jackson to Britain in January 1985 was an important boost to anti-apartheid work among the black community. He addressed a well-attended service in Notting Hill and spoke to a meeting of some 70 black councillors and community leaders, which was coordinated at short notice by Ben Bousquet of the AAM's executive committee.

## Multi-Faiths

Following the Colloquium of World Religions on Apartheid, hosted by Bishop Huddleston in March 1984, the AAM held consultations with a wide range of religious organisations and it was agreed to establish a Multi-Faiths Committee to coordinate campaigns among the different religious communities in Britain, and improve the AAM's liaison with these communities. The committee held its first meetings in January and February 1985, and a workshop was organised in April at the Central London Gurdwara (Sikh temple). The temple provided much help in planning the meeting, and several leading members attended along with others from different religions, although predominantly from the Christian bodies. An exhibition of anti-apartheid work by children from several ILEA schools was held in the temple, organised with the assistance of the ILEA Multi-Cultural Education Unit.

Throughout the Christian Holy Week the committee organised daily prayer vigils at South Africa House, in which representatives of several denominations participated. For the period 16-26 June, the committee widely distributed copies of a prayer sheet prepared by the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and encouraged special services to focus on events in Southern Africa. A special banner was made for the 16 June demonstration (and subsequently lost in the arson attack on the AAM's HQ), and the committee distributed material to mobilise for the demonstration among the wide range of contacts which had been built up. The committee produced its own leaflet, 'Apartheid South Africa — A Multi-Faiths Response', copies of which were distributed to these contacts. Efforts were made to establish better contact with the religious press and broadcasting media, and the committee put out several press releases on its activities. Throughout the period the committee benefited from the voluntary assistance, at the AAM's HQ, of Father Steve Reith.

Members of the committee and other contacts were involved in the rally in Oxford in March addressed by Father Smangaliso Mkhathwa, and the committee itself hosted a briefing meeting for UDF representatives Cassim Saloojee and Revd Frank Chikane in December. Cassim Saloojee had been present at the World Colloquium, representing the Islamic faith within South Africa. Both were arrested in February after their return to South Africa, and joined other leading figures in the UDF to face treason charges.

Also in the course of the year visits by Bishop Tutu took place, and provided opportunities for AAM supporters to mobilise within their religious organisations. When Bishop Tutu addressed a packed assembly in St Paul's Cathedral in November, AAM supporters were able to provide members of the audience with information about the boycott campaign and the Movement.

The AAM assisted with mobilisation and publicity for the USPG Christians Awake 'Journey with Injustice', held in March to focus on the issue of forced removals and to commemorate Sharpeville. The 'Journey' took place over several days, with participants setting up 'squatter camps' at each of their over-

night resting places, and being 'evicted' each morning, to demonstrate to the local communities the reality of the forced removals programme. The 'Journey' ended with a vigil on the steps of St Martin in the Fields as news of the horrific shootings at Langa came in. Also at St Martin's, in August, the West Indian Standing Conference held a memorial service for victims of apartheid. The AAM was able to assist by circulating invitations to its contacts in the different religious groups, and the service was attended by many AAM supporters. Bishop Huddleston was invited to open the Buddhist Peace Pagoda in Battersea Park in May 1985, and AAM supporters leafleted those present with the AAM's Multi-Faiths leaflet.

The AAM continued to liaise with major church organisations. The CIIR produced a wide range of material on Southern Africa, some of which the AAM was able to distribute. Of particular importance was the report on *Police violence in the townships* prepared by the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference and reprinted by the CIIR. The British Council of Churches issued a number of statements and encouraged member churches to take up particular issues. Statements issued after the Langa massacre and calling for action following publication of the AAM's arms embargo memorandum, as well as its sponsorship of the UDF Treason Trial Campaign Committee, were particularly welcomed. Growing concern within the churches was highlighted by the mission to South Africa of the Bishop of Lichfield, and a further delegation of the BCC at the invitation of the SACC.

## Political Parties

The Movement has continued to cooperate with a wide variety of political parties and organisations which support the AAM and its policies, and to seek to influence those which have different approaches to the situation in Southern Africa.

At the Labour Party Conference in 1984 the resolution adopted called for the party to cooperate with the AAM in its campaigning activities on Southern Africa, and there has been close liaison with the party's international department. The NEC endorsed the AAM's ten-point programme of action and sponsored the 16 June demonstration, at which Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock spoke. He used the opportunity, the first occasion the leader of the party has addressed an AAM rally in Trafalgar Square since Harold Wilson in 1963, to pledge that a future Labour government would impose sanctions against South Africa.

The Liberal Party also sponsored the 16 June demonstration, and the chairperson of its community relations panel, Cllr Gifford, spoke at the Trafalgar Square rally. At the party's joint assembly in September, the party adopted a comprehensive resolution on Southern Africa as follows:

This Joint Assembly reaffirms its opposition to apartheid and believes that the recent constitutional changes giving limited rights to the coloured and Asian populations are solely designed to bolster a regime which denies constitutional rights to seventy per cent of its population.

This Joint Assembly:

- (i) condemns the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and calls for the full implementation of UN Resolution 435, including free and independent elections under UN supervision and the recognition of SWAPO;
- (ii) notes the application of international financial pressure has already led to the new initiative of a meeting between South African business leaders and the ANC and suggestions of limited reform by the Botha regime;
- (iii) believes that the only hope of peaceful progress for all the people of South Africa lies in direct negotiations between government and black, coloured and Asian leaders who command the confidence of the majority;
- (iv) deplors the shameful isolation of HMG in opposing the application of effective measures against South

Africa in the UN, the Commonwealth and the international community, in particular its refusal to agree to the measures proposed by the European Community on 10th September 1985;

- (v) condemns the state of emergency declared on 20th July, the widespread killing, repression and brutality by the South African security forces and the detention of thousands of opponents of apartheid.

This Joint Assembly calls upon Her Majesty's Government:

1. to impose an oil embargo and comprehensive economic sanctions on South Africa, including:
  - (a) adherence to the UN mandatory arms embargo and to work toward the imposition of a UN ban on all nuclear collaboration with South Africa; and
  - (b) the denial of all funds for trade missions to South Africa and the cessation of export credits for sales to South Africa;
2. to terminate the no-visa agreement with South Africa;
3. to exert public pressure on the South African Government to adhere to the UN Declaration of Human Rights and to free Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners unconditionally;
4. to negotiate a European Community ban on landings and overflights by South African Airways;
5. to make South Africa answerable before the International Court of Justice for the Homelands policies; and
6. to implement more effectively the Gleneagles Agreement on sporting contacts with South Africa.

The leader of the Social Democratic Party, Dr Owen, addressed the lobby of parliament on Namibia on 12 December 1984 and made a number of appeals to the government to impose selective sanctions against South Africa. The SDP itself issued a policy statement on Southern Africa in the summer of 1985 and it was a major issue at the SDP's annual conference in September. The debate at this conference revealed differences within the party on its attitude to sanctions and showed the need for more work to secure full support for the Movement's policies from the SDP.

Relations with the Conservative Party at a national level have existed primarily in representations to the government over its policies and actions. The chairman of the Conservative Party refused to dissociate the party from the visit by a group of Conservative MPs to Namibia in June 1985 to attend the inauguration of the 'transitional government'. A small but vocal group of Conservative MPs continues to give what amounts to uncritical support to the Botha regime, whilst the majority refuse to support effective measures against South Africa. However, there are growing signs that within the Conservative Party, both in parliament and among local Conservative councillors, criticism of the Conservative government's policy is mounting.

Plaid Cymru and the SNP continue to give their active backing to the AAM, as have the Communist Party and the Ecology Party. The upsurge of the struggle in Southern Africa has brought renewed interest from a number of left political groups and organisations, and whilst this support is generally welcomed there have been differences of approach and understanding of developments in the region.



# Parliament

This year has seen a number of major breakthroughs in the Movement's work in relation to parliament. The consistent work of a number of MPs over many years is now producing dividends.

In the autumn of 1984 a number of Labour MPs came together to form an Anti-Apartheid Group among members of the Parliamentary Labour Party. This group, now with over 50 MPs, meets monthly and has been addressed by representatives of SWAPO and the UDF, and by Bishop Huddleston, the AAM president. It plans and coordinates backbench activities such as the submission of parliamentary questions pressuring for debates on Southern Africa. A delegation from the group met minister of state Malcolm Rifkind over the Durban consulate affair. The group is chaired by Bob Hughes MP, the treasurer is Allan Rogers (a vice president of WAAM), and the group's secretary is Richard Caborn MP. A special word of appreciation should be extended to Sue Walmsley who services the group.

In a major breakthrough on 10 July, the House of Commons gave a first reading to the South Africa (Sanctions) Bill. Although opposed in the chamber, its opponents failed to appoint tellers when a vote was taken because it was evident that the bill would be adopted on its first reading. The turnout by Labour, Liberal and SDP MPs and the undertakings given to AAM members by Conservative MPs that they would not oppose the bill demonstrated the extent of support within parliament for the enactment of sanctions legislation. A similar bill, specifically seeking the enforcement of sanctions against South Africa over Namibia, received its first reading a few days later. The AAM is grateful for the work put in particularly by Richard Caborn and Lord Hatch, the movers of the two bills.

These bills were the culmination of persistent work in parliament. Nearly every foreign affairs question time had seen one or other issue relating to Southern Africa being raised and such had been the interest in parliament that the government had to make several statements in the House of Commons which provided further opportunities for the government's policies to be challenged. Also, for the first time for many years, there was a debate on Southern Africa at the end of July, on this occasion at the initiative of Jeff Rooker MP.



# Anti-Apartheid News

*Anti-Apartheid News* celebrated its 20th birthday at the Africa Centre, London, in January at a party which brought together a wide range of supporters and contributors to the newspaper. Sir Hugh Casson, one of the Movement's vice presidents, launched an anniversary book of cartoons, *Drawing the Line - cartoonists against apartheid*, compiled from the many illustrations and graphics which have been donated to *AA News* since its foundation in 1965. The newspaper also began its anniversary year with a redesigned two-colour masthead.

*AA News'* role as the main means through which the Movement communicates with its supporters was considered during the year by the development sub-committee, which concluded that it has been crucial in strengthening the AAM's influence and in increasing understanding of the issues at stake. The sub-committee agreed that the newspaper's main functions are:

- \* coverage and analysis of events in Southern Africa
- \* providing information on forthcoming events and campaigns
- \* reporting on local, national and international action.

The sub-committee felt that there was a need for more in-depth coverage of developments in Southern Africa and for greater exchange of views between those responsible for the editorial content of the paper and those selling and distributing it, and using it in campaigns.

Steps towards meeting these suggestions have included a half-day meeting for local group members and others interested to discuss the paper; the publication of a handbook on *AA News* and how to use it; the introduction of discount arrangements for bulk orders by local groups; and the allocation of additional headquarters staff time to *AA News'* sales and promotion. Plans are in hand to further develop channels of communication with local groups and activists.

Steady progress has continued to be made in increasing the paper's circulation, despite a three-month lapse between Bernadette Valley's departure from the AAM staff and her replacement by Mick Flynn as the staff member responsible for advertising, circulation and sales. At the close of the financial year, the print-run stood at 12-13,000, an increase of 1-2,000 over September 1984. The print-run for the September 1985 issue was increased to 20,000, however, to allow for large-scale complimentary distribution to TUC delegates and as part of the Movement's membership drive within the trade union movement. The costs of this, and of the extra pages of the September issue (20 instead of 12) were easily covered by the trade union advertising received.

The introduction of bulk postage arrangements during the year has simplified the ever-increasing burden of mailing out the newspaper to members and supporters, while an arrangement for its trade distribution to bookshops and other retailers should help to develop a previously neglected sales area. While a considerable amount of work remains to be done to develop sales and promotional activity through AA local groups and affiliated organisations, the editorial board are confident that the print-run will continue to rise during the coming year.

Editorially, *AA News'* range of contributors has continued to increase, notably from local authorities involved in the apartheid-free zone campaign and in the form of letters to the paper. Many local and student AA groups now report regularly to the paper, although further work needs to be done to strengthen coverage of campaign activities out of London.

Guest writers during the year have included Cllr Betty Higgins, leader of Nottingham city council; Cllr Adam Ingram, leader of East Kilbride district council; Cllr Mike Pye, Sheffield city council; Cllr Phil Davis, The Wrekin; Danny Crawford, Glasgow district council; and Carolyn Downes, London borough of Haringey; Louis Mahoney of Equity; David Rabkin; Earl Bousquet of St Lucia Anti-Apartheid; Paul Goodison and Barry Munslow; Richard Caborn MP; William Pomeroy; John



Tanner; Revd Theo Kotze; Anne Newnham of No Tour '85, New Zealand; David Haslam, ELTSA; Margaret Lipscomb of the Namibia Communications Centre; Nara Greenway, Nipponzan Myohoji; Gerald Kraak; Beverley Naidoo; and Hilary Smith of the Capenhurst Women.

Interviews were published with, among others, Barbara Masekela, head of the ANC Department of Arts and Culture; Florence Maleka and Frene Ginwala of the ANC Women's Section; Ellen Mustalela of SWAPO Women's Council; John Nkadimeng, general secretary of SACTU; Father Smangalis Mkhathwa of the UDF; David Kitson; Marius Schoon; Mary Manning of the Dunnes strikers; Sam Ramsamy of SANROC; Merata Mita, director of *Patu*; Sean MacBride; Karen Jefferson of the Free South Africa Movement and Southern Africa Support Project in Washington, USA; Tichaendepi Masaya of ZANU(PF); Donald Anderson MP; Janne Svegarden of Oslo city council; Gill Durber of CANUC; Hanna Haberman of EFD, West Germany; and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

Special features during the year included centre spreads on Namibia - 100 years of resistance to colonial occupation; the Namibia - Independence Now! campaign; the schools boycott in South Africa; Namibia Women's Day; the new South African constitution; the boycott campaign; SWAPO's 25th anniversary; ANC Year of the Cadre; and the Nairobi conference for the end of UN Women's Decade.

As usual, thanks are due to a large number of people without whose support and help it would be impossible to produce the paper. Apart from the contributors listed above, they include Nancy White (typesetting); Keith Somerville, Adewale Maja-Pearce, Jan Marsh, Marga Holness, Colin Buckley, Tom Minney, John C Laurence, Ann Harries, Paul Annegarn, Elaine Unterhalter, Barbara Konig and Rachel Jewkes (regular contributors); Cameron Brisbane, Paul Mattsson, Rob Scott, Report/IFL and the *Morning Star* picture library (photographs); Ken Sprague, Steve Bell, Francis Boyle and Cath Jackson (cartoons and illustrations); the many regular volunteers who wrap and mail out the newspaper from 13 Mandela Street; and last, but by no means least, the members and supporters who sell and promote the paper locally.

Efforts to ensure that *AA News* moves towards a situation in which it is a net contributor to the Movement's financial resources have continued and there is every reason to look forward to substantial increases in sales and advertising revenue in 1985-86. While total advertising revenue in the financial year was down on 1983-84 (£2,695.74 compared with £3,213.20 plus £3,537.50 received from the AAM 25th anniversary supplement), advertising revenue for the first (September) issue of the 1985-86 financial year topped £3,000, mostly from the trade union movement. Occasional sponsored advertisements, comprising individual endorsements of thematic messages or appeals, are also proving a useful additional source of income. It is hoped that the additional resources now being put into building up regular advertising income will more than offset the impact of VAT on newspaper and magazine advertising. The paper's advertising rates, unchanged for three years, are being reviewed and it is also proposed to increase the cover price to 25p with effect from January 1986, the first increase for more than five years.

The editorial board was expanded during the year and now comprises Margaret Ling (editor), Alan Brooks, Brian Bunting, David Coetzee, Deborah Ewing, Villa Pillay and Bernadette Valley, with Cate Clarke, Mick Flynn, Simon Sapper and Mike Terry from AAM staff.

# The Media

Developments in Southern Africa and the worldwide movement of solidarity have generated an unprecedented interest in the media. The Movement has always recognised that it has two primary tasks in its work with the media. The first is to ensure as favourable as possible coverage of the liberation struggles; the second being to secure coverage for the campaigning activities of the AAM.

There has been a marked shift in attitude by the media in its approach to the freedom struggle. Coverage of events has been more extensive than ever before and of more significance has been the much greater attention paid to the views of the liberation movements, in particular the ANC. The entire media, however, failed again to give any real attention to developments in Namibia.

The media have also been obliged to report the growing crisis in western policy towards Southern Africa and the campaign for sanctions and disinvestment. Throughout the period of this report, and in particular since the state of emergency, the Movement has been inundated with requests from the media for information, statements and interviews. This has resulted in a significant increase in coverage of the work of the AAM, yet it remains the case that much of the campaigning activities of the Movement go unreported in the national media.

There are, of course, some notable exceptions, in particular the labour movement press: the *Morning Star*, for example, has given extensive coverage to the AAM's activities; the black community press and radio; and the religious press. This year has also seen excellent coverage in the trade union press.

The Movement has organised several press conferences during the year. The AAM chairperson hosted a press conference for SWAPO president Sam Nujoma in the House of Commons, and chaired a well-attended press conference for the head of the ANC's International Department, JM Makatini, following the state of emergency. Other press conferences were for the launch of the ten-point programme, the formation of the UDF treason trial campaign committee, a briefing by Murphy Morobe of the UDF, the publication of *How Britain Arms Apartheid*, of the UN survey of *Local Authority Action against Apartheid*, and of the SATIS pamphlet on *Political Trials in South Africa*.

A large number of press releases were distributed during the year. The local and provincial press have given coverage both to the AAM's national activities and, in particular, to the work of local AA groups, many of which have gained valuable experience in how to secure effective publicity locally.

There has also been a marked increase in interest in the work of the AAM among the international press based in Britain. Interviews are given frequently to TV, radio and press from all over the world, and it would appear that the Movement often receives more favourable coverage abroad than in Britain.

The Movement would like to take this opportunity to thank the many individual journalists in the press, radio and television who have striven hard to ensure effective coverage of events in Southern Africa and of the work of the Movement.

# Publications

In addition to *Anti-Apartheid News*, the AAM produced a wide range of material, from pamphlets to leaflets and other campaigning publications.

Some 2,000 *Boycott Kits* were distributed, containing a range of briefing materials on specific aspects of the boycott campaign, together with stickers, badges and posters. The kit included special leaflets on coal and clothing imported from South Africa, and a multilingual boycott leaflet, all of which were available separately and widely used by local groups. A 'Boycott Special' broadsheet, with detailed information and campaigning suggestions, was produced for the March month of action, and postcards addressed to shop managers calling for the boycott were printed and distributed to local groups.

A complete range of materials was prepared and distributed for the AAM's 16 June demonstration. This included posters, leaflets, mobilisation briefings and stickers. Over half a million leaflets were distributed.

A range of material was produced jointly by the AAM and Namibia Support Committee for the Namibia-Independence Now! campaign in the autumn and SWAPO's 25th anniversary celebration in the spring. The Namibia-Independence Now! material included a *Declaration* in pamphlet form, of which 20,000 copies were distributed. Briefing documents on various aspects of the situation in Namibia were prepared by AAM for the parliamentary lobby in December.

Other campaigning material included the SATIS leaflet 'No Apartheid Executions', mobilising leaflets for events such as the march and rally held on 17 November, the boycott conference, various demonstrations at South Africa House and other events, including a poster with a Steve Bell cartoon for the demonstration in Oxford on 7 March. Urgent campaigning material in response to the state of emergency was produced at the end of July, and the sanctions petition to parliament was launched.

Several substantial publications were produced during the year. The memo to the government, *How Britain Arms Apartheid*, which dealt in detail with exposing breaches in the arms embargo, was widely circulated to the press and secured a number of reviews, including *The Times*. The survey of *Local Authority Action against Apartheid*, published by the local authorities steering committee in May and distributed by the AAM, proved a useful campaigning tool for local groups but, in spite of considerable efforts, did not secure the press attention it warranted, revealing as it did the extent of local authority support for AAM policies. A *Survey of Actions and Events to Honour Nelson Mandela* was produced by AAM and widely circulated to overseas organisations. A detailed *Memo-randum on Namibia*, presenting the successive failures of the government to act, was also widely circulated to the press. In June SATIS produced a pamphlet, *Political Trials in South Africa*, which was distributed by AAM. Briefing documents on a number of issues such as sanctions, disinvestment, the cultural boycott, etc. were produced. *AA News* produced a special anniversary pamphlet of cartoons that had appeared in the paper over the past 20 years. *Drawing the Line* was launched at an Africa Centre event to mark 20 years of publication.

The AAM women's committee and health committee continued to publish their respective newsletters; and the resources sub-committee has continued with its work in preparing a *Resources Kit* for the AAM.

In addition to producing and distributing its own publications, the Movement distributed a number of UN documents, such as the sports and cultural registers, to local groups and other organisations, as well as material produced by IDAF, ANC, SWAPO, NSC, COSAWR, etc.

# Services

The need for the AAM headquarters to provide a range of services throughout the past year has at times overstretched the resources of the Movement and its staff. In addition to the ever-increasing requests for information and material from local groups, student groups and trade union branches, there have been more enquiries than ever from the general public, local authorities, local branches of political parties, trades councils, religious organisations and young people.

There have been at least four to five speaker requests each week — not including those requests serviced by local groups themselves, and there is still an urgent need for more people willing to take on this role on a national basis and to provide speakers notes on different issues, similar to the Boycott Special produced for the relaunch of the boycott campaign.

The AAM has also ensured that information stalls have been organised at political and cultural events throughout the country, and there has also been a thorough servicing of trade union, political party and student conferences.

Groups and individuals requesting films or videos are referred to the International Defence and Aid Fund, which has further extended its range of material to cater for the ever-increasing demand.

# FINANCE & FUND- RAISING

The financial situation of the AAM deteriorated markedly during the year 1984/85. The deficit of expenditure over income was £22,802 for the year ending 30 June 1985. This arose largely because of a dramatic increase in expenditure from £102,758 in 1983/84 to £155,755 for 1984/85. Income, however, only rose from £106,234 to £132,953.

This trend in the Movement's financial situation led the national committee to increase the rates for membership subscriptions.

The Movement wishes to place on record again its appreciation for the assistance and advice provided by Mr Arthur Prior, who was reappointed as the AAM auditor. It is also grateful for the numerous members and supporters who have done so much to raise funds for the campaigning work of the AAM.

The fund-raising committee has continued to expand. Its activities raise valuable funds for the AAM through a range of projects.

The efforts of Paul Annegarn, a South African, running once again in the London Marathon attracted numerous sponsors and over £1,100 in funds. Similarly, the annual 30-mile 'Cycle for Mandela' again proved successful, raising, according to initial estimates, at least £1,000. Cyclist Peter Berringer extended this 30 miles to 1,400: over six summer weeks he cycled around Britain, accruing sponsors and publicity, distributing leaflets and visiting AA members. Other keen cyclists were sponsored to cover the more modest but not insubstantial distance between London and Brighton.

The Soweto Walks organised by local groups continue to be a regular and important source of income for the AAM's educational work and for the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

A fund-raising endeavour that looks likely to become a regular event was a booksale organised jointly by the ANC and AAM in July. Thousands of books and hundreds of people crammed into Hampstead Community Centre to part with £1,200 in total, £950 of that being profit.

The AAM marked South Africa Freedom Day with a very enjoyable comedy/cabaret evening in 'Jongleurs' in south London. A number of individuals and organisations have raised cash for the campaigning work of the Movement. The Boothill Foot-Tappers and assorted buskers entertained Covent Garden crowds in London for over two hours in August. There, and during their impromptu march to the South African embassy, they collected over £800. Apples and Snakes, a poetry company, donated the proceeds of a gig (over £500) at the South Bank in London to the South African NUM and to the AAM. The revenue from two records, Milton Smalling's 'Fighting Spirit' and Davy Lamp Records' 'Lawlords International', is to go to the Movement. Trade unions, student unions, AA and other groups also raised money for the national office in various ventures.

The range of goods and gifts provided by the AAM grows. Over the Christmas period more than £2,000 was raised from orders sent into the office. Barnet and Brent AAs continue diligently to supply two of the best-selling lines: T-shirts and mugs respectively. These goods, along with the wide range of AAM literature and posters, have been available throughout the country at numerous meetings, festivals, concerts and conferences.

New or used ideas about fund-raising and the time to help put them into practice are always welcomed by the fund-raising committee.

# ORGANISATION

## MEMBERSHIP

During the year 1984/85 there has been a growing level of support for the Anti-Apartheid Movement from both organisations and individual activists, and has thus seen a significant increase in the AAM's membership. The average number of new members per month in 1983/84 was 70; this figure has more than doubled for the year 1984/85 to approximately 150 new members per month for much of the year, but rising to 400 new members per month following the imposition of the state of emergency at midnight on 20 July. The total number of new members this year was 2,150.

There are about 700 organisations affiliated to the AAM. These are for the most part trade union branches and political party branches, mainly CLPs. However, there are also a variety of other organisations affiliated, including youth, women's, church and student groups, as well as a number of CRCs. There have been 165 new affiliations this year.

The total membership of individuals and organisations is now approximately 5,000, which is a net increase of 1,500 since 1984. Although this increase is encouraging, there are still a number of members not renewing their membership. It is also important that local groups play a greater part in increasing the membership. Many activists are only members of their local groups and not national members.

To secure wider support for our policies and campaigns it is vital that the AAM expands its membership even more. The year 1985/86 should see a much greater rise in membership. A major membership drive has been planned.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The annual general meeting is the major opportunity during the year for AAM members to play a part in formulating the activities of the Movement for the year ahead. Resolutions adopted form the framework of policy for the AAM, and constitutional changes adopted by the national committee have to be ratified by the AGM.

Every year the July newsletter invites members and affiliates to submit resolutions to the AGM and to nominate individual members to serve on the national committee. At the AGM itself, usually held towards the end of October, members discuss and vote on resolutions and elect 30 members to serve on the national committee from those nominated. A three-person standing orders committee, elected by the AGM, is responsible for the conduct of business.

At the 1984 AGM a total of 22 resolutions were adopted covering most of the major areas of campaigning. There was an unexpectedly high turn-out, with well over 700 members and delegates present. The AGM agreed that in future meetings should be held alternately outside London and in London. The 1985 AGM was due to be held in Sheffield but, because the venue for the meeting would not accommodate the numbers expected, it had to be rearranged in London.

## NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The national committee is the policy-making body of the Movement and carries out its work within the framework of AGM resolutions. Its members comprise the president, vice presidents and sponsors, 30 individual members elected at the AGM, and representatives of 25 national or regional member organisations elected annually from among such member organisations. The Southern African liberation movements attend the national committee in a special category of observer status, and observers are also invited from organisations and groups supporting the aims of the AAM. Up to 10 individuals may be co-opted.

The national committee met on six occasions during the year and carried out a heavy workload. Its first meeting, immediately following the AGM, elected the new executive and other officers of the AAM. The first full meeting was held on 1 December, when plans were drawn up for the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the AGM. The meeting on 23 February reviewed plans for the March month of boycott, as well as progress on the implementation of AGM resolutions. The meeting also overwhelmingly decided that it would no longer recognise the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group as an organisation in membership under clause 7(c) of the constitution since it failed to provide assurances sought by the executive and national committees that it would function as a normal local anti-apartheid group. The matter had been considered at the previous national committee when a report was presented on the relations between the City of London AA group and the AAM. That meeting of the national committee endorsed the action of the executive committee in seeking a number of assurances from the group. A further effort was made to secure these assurances but without success. Explaining this action AAM chairperson Bob Hughes stated that the Movement was 'not expelling any individual or organisation. We are not seeking to prevent any form of anti-apartheid activity, least of all picketing at South Africa House, which we have been organising for 25 years; nor are we pursuing any political vendettas. What we cannot have is an organisation in membership as a local group if it is not one. It is as simple as that. We regret that this has happened but the national committee has to consider the interests of the Movement as a whole.'

The assurances sought from the City of London AA group were that the membership of the group should consist of those living or working in the City of London; that the group should cease organising activities outside the City of London; and that it should not organise campaigns at a national level or approach national organisations without consultation with the AAM headquarters or executive committee.

An emergency meeting of the national committee was convened, following the Langa massacre, in London on 13 April, when a comprehensive programme of activities was agreed including a national demonstration on 16 June. The meeting also issued a statement condemning the Northern Ireland office for facilitating a visit by the South African ambassador to Northern Ireland. This meeting provided a very valuable exchange of views on how the Movement should respond to this crisis. A further meeting was held on 29 June to review the general campaigning work of the AAM. This meeting also received a report from the standing orders committee concerning the conduct of business at the AGM and agreed to a change in the standing orders. It also agreed to a series of recommendations for increasing membership subscriptions set out in a report from the executive committee.

The national committee next met on 7 September, when it adopted the political report which serves as the introduction to this report. It also agreed a change in the constitution so that only members of the AAM who had been in membership of the Movement for three months prior to the AGM would have the right to attend the AGM. This meeting also decided on a comprehensive package of campaigning proposals in response to the state of emergency, including the calling of a national March against Apartheid in early to mid-November. The steps necessary to rearrange the AGM, having received a report from Sheffield AA that they were no longer in a position to host the meeting, were agreed. This meeting also received the interim report of the development sub-committee and endorsed the report's recommendations.

The national committee approves all membership applications under clause 7 of the constitution; only one application was rejected — that of the South African Embassy Picket Campaign 1984.

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## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The executive committee, which advises the national committee and sees to the execution of policy decided on, is the working committee of the Movement. It is elected by and from the national committee and consists of six officers of the Movement — the chairperson, up to two vice chairpersons, hon secretary, hon treasurer and executive secretary — and eight elected members. It can coopt up to six individuals to assist it in its work. It can also appoint subcommittees and these are currently the trade union, health, women's, multi-faiths, finance and fund-raising committees, as well as the editorial board of *AA News*. A committee has also been formed to plan campaign work on sanctions, and there is an international liaison group which coordinates the international work of the AAM.

The executive committee meets at least monthly but can be called upon to meet more often if the necessity arises.

The executive also agreed to meet with the home office concerning policing of anti-apartheid demonstrations in the metropolitan police area, including South Africa House, and to make representations concerning the white paper on public order review. A meeting took place with Giles Shaw MP, the minister of state, on 11 June and the Movement wrote formally setting out its views following the meeting. Further representations were made in writing concerning the policing of demonstrations outside South Africa House. These matters are still being pursued.

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## AAM HQ

The functioning of the AAM HQ was seriously affected by an arson attack in the early hours of 16 July, just four days before the declaration of the state of emergency. Damage estimated at well over £10,000 was caused which destroyed the AAM's toilet facilities, central heating and water supply, as well as much other damage. Staff and volunteers therefore had to cope with one of the most hectic periods in the Movement's history in very difficult conditions. Camden council, the Movement's landlord, unanimously called for an enquiry into the incident, which was also the subject of a thorough police investigation. The council made the necessary arrangements for the repair of the building.

Once more a heavy burden of the Movement's work has fallen on the AAM staff. This year has seen a number of changes. Simon Sapper joined the staff as trade union secretary in October 1984. Two further vacancies were created when Bernadette Vallely left in January 1985 and Beverley Howe left in July. Both Bernadette and Beverley had been hardworking and committed members of staff who had served the Movement during a difficult period of its history, and the opportunity is taken here to express appreciation for their work. Mick Flynn was appointed in April 1985 to succeed Bernadette, and Liz Hollis in September to succeed Beverley. Sue Longbottom took maternity leave in June shortly before the birth of her daughter Ellen. Carolia Towle was appointed to fill the temporary vacancy.

The staff at Mandela Street would be unable to undertake the work they are able to without the dedicated support of so many volunteers who give up their spare time, and often more, to help.



FORWARD TO FREEDOM IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA!

REMEMBER MASSINGA

IN TRIBUTE TO THE VICTIMS OF SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACK GABERONE 14th JUNE 85

REMEMBER KATATURU

REMEMBER SOWETO MASSACRE 16th JUNE 1976 - 1000 KILLED



SOUTH AFRICA

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

ER GA RE